A 29.

DECLARATION

OF THE

Engagements, Remonſtrances, Repreſentations, Propoſals, Deſires and Reſolutions from His Excellency Sir *Tho: Fairfax*, and the generall Councel of the Army. For ſetling of His Majeſty in His juſt Rights, the Parliament in their juſt Priviledges, and the Subjects in their LIBERTIES and FREEDOMES.

With papers of Overtures, of the Army with the Kings Majeſty, the Parliament, the Citie, and with the Souldiery amongſt themſelves.

Alſo Repreſentations of the grievances of the Kingdome, and remedies propounded, for removing the preſent preſſures whereby the Subjects are burthened.

And the reſolutions of the Army; for the eſtabliſhment of a firme and laſting Peace in Church and KINGDOME.

By the appointment of His Excellency Sir Tho: Fairfax, *and the generall Councell of his Army. Signed*, John Ruſhworth, Secret.

LONDON,
Printed by *Matthew Simmons* in Alderſgate-ſtreet, 1647.

3-19-40

To His Excellency, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Generall of the PARLIAMENTS Forces;

The humble Petition of the Officers and Souldiers of the Army under your Command.

SHEVVETH,

THat ever since our first ingaging in this service, for preserving the power of this Kingdome in the hands of the Parliament; we have in our severall places served them with all faithfulnesse. And although we have layn under many discouragements for want of pay, and other necessaries; yet have we not disputed their commands, disobeyed their orders, nor disturbed them with Petitions; nor have there any visible discontents appeared amongst us to the incouragement of their Enemies, and the impediment of their affaires; but have with all chearfulnesse done Summer services in Winter seasons, improving the utmost of our abilities in the advancement of their service: And seeing God hath crowned our indeavours, with the end of our desires, (*viz.* the dispersing of their publike Enemies, and reducing them to their obedience) The King being now brought in, our Brethren the Scots satisfied, and departed the Kingdome; all dangers seemingly blown over, & Peace in all their Quarters: We (imboldned by their manifold promises, and Declarations, to protect and defend those that appeared, and acted in their service) herewith humbly present to your Excellency, the annexed Representations of our desires; which we humbly beseech your Excellency to recommend, or represent in our behalfe to the Parliament.

And your Petitioners shall ever Honour and Pray for your Excellency &c.

The humble Representation of the Desires of the Officers and Souldiers of the Army under the Command of his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Presented first to his Excellency, to be by him represented to the Parliament.

1. FIrst, *whereas the necessity and exigencie of the War, hath put us upon many actions, which the Law would not warrant, nor we have acted in a time of setled peace; We humbly desire, that before our disbanding, a full and sufficient provision may be made by Ordinance of Parliament (to which the Royall assent may be desired) for our indempnity, and security in all such cases.*

2. *That Auditors or Commissioners may be speedily appointed and authorized, to repaire to the head-quarter of this Army, to audite and state our accompts, as well for all former services as for our services in this Army; and that before the disbanding of the Army, satisfaction may be given to the Petitioners for their arreares, that so the charge, trouble, and loss of time, which we must otherwise*

neceſſarily undergoe, in attendance for the obtaining of them, may be prevented, We having had experience, that many have been reduced to miſerable extreamities, even almoſt ſtarved for want of reliefe, by their tedious attendance. And that no Officer may be charged with any thing in his accompt, that doth not particularly concern himſelfe.

3. *That thoſe who have voluntarily ſerved the Parliament in the late Warrs, may not hereafter be compelled by preſs or otherwiſe to ſerve as Souldiers out of this Kingdome. Nor thoſe who have ſerved as Horſemen, may be compelled by preſs to ſerve on Foot, in any future caſe.*

4. *That ſuch in this Army as have loſt their limbs, and the Wives and Children of ſuch as have been ſlain in the ſervice, and ſuch Officers or ſouldiers as have ſuſtained loſſes or have been prejudiced in their eſtates, by adhering to the Parliament; or in their perſons by ſickneſs or impriſonment under the Enemy, may have ſuch allowances and ſatisfaction, as may be agreeable to Iuſtice and equity.*

5. *That till the Army be disbanded as aforeſaid, ſome courſe may be taken for the ſupply thereof with moneys. Whereby We may be enabled to diſcharge our quarters, that ſo we may not for neceſſary food be beholding to the Parliaments Enemies, burthenſome to their friends, or oppreſſive to the country, Whoſe preſervation we have alwayes indeavoured, and in Whoſe happineſs we ſhould ſtill rejoyce*

The Officers preſent at the Debates following.

Viz. *Liuet Gen.* Hamond. *Commiſſary* Ireton. *Col* Hamond. *Col.* Harley. *Col.* Ingoldesby, *Col.* Whaley. *Col.* Forteſcue. *Col.* Rich. *Col.* Butler. *Col.* Hewſon. *Col* Lilburne. *Col.* Okey. *Liuet Col.* Jackſon. *Lieutenant Colonell* Pride *Liuet. Col* Grimes. *Major Fincher. Major* Swallow, *Major* Huntington. *Major* Cowell. *Major* Ducket. *Major Sedaſcue. Major* Waade. *Captain* Brown. *Captain* Groves *Capt.* Lawrence. *Capt.* Jenkins. *Capt* Morgan. *Capt* Farre *Captain Goff. Capt.* Reynolds *Capt.* Nevill. *Capt* Pretty. *Capt.* Ohara. *Capt* Leigh. *Capt* Coleman, *Capt.* Young. Capt. cannon. *capt.* Wallington. *capt Lieut,* Audley. *capt, Liut.* Gladman. capt. Lagoe. *Lieut* Lloyde. *Lieut* Scottin. *cor.* Spencer.

At the Convention of Officers before his Excellency Sir Tho. Fairfax *at* Saffron Walden, *March* 21 1646.

THe two Letters from the Committee of Lords and Commons for Iriſh affaires ſitting at *Derby*-Houſe, the one dated the 17. the other the 18. of *March* inſtant, and the ſeverall votes of the Houſe of Commons there incloſed, concerning the ſending of ſeven Regiments of Foot and four Regiments of Horſe out of this Army into *Irel.* for the ſervice of that Kingdom, were read: Whereupon his Excellency, propoſed, unto the Officers this Queſtion enſuing: *viz.*

Queſt. *Whether they were willing, with thoſe under their Commands to ingage for the ſervice of* Ireland *in the number of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, now propoſed to be ſent.*

In

In order to which, after ſome debate the firſt Quærie propounded amongſt the Officers was.

1. *Whether they were prepared, at preſent, to give a certain reſolution to that Queſtion?*

Reſolved Negatively (*Nemine contradicente*)

2. It was reſolved and declared by all: That whether they ſhall finde cauſe to ingage themſelves perſonally in that ſervice or no, they ſhall in their ſeverall places be ready to further and advance it amongſt thoſe under their reſpective commands.

Next there were ſeverall things propounded by ſeverall Officers wherein ſatisfaction was deſired, before they could give their certain reſolution to the maine Queſtion; which were theſe.

1. To know, what particular Regiments, Troops or Companies of this Army, are to be continued in ſervice in this Kingdom.

2. To know under whoſe conduct and Command in chief, thoſe that engage for *Ireland* are to goe.

3 What aſſurance there ſhall be of pay, and ſubſiſtance, to thoſe that ſhall engage in this ſervice for *Ireland*, during their continuance therein.

4. To have ſatisfaction in point of Arrears, and indempnity for the ſervice in *England*.

Upon each of theſe, this Queſtion was put to every Officer diſtinctly.

Queſt. *Whether is this a thing wherein you deſire ſatisfaction before you can give a certain Reſolution to ingage in the ſervice propoſed?*

Which queſtion, upon the third and fourth Propoſitions was reſolved affirmatively, (*Nemine contradicente*).

Upon the ſecond it was reſolved affirmatively by all except *Col.* Harley. Coll. *Forteſcue*, Col. *Butler*, Major *Fincher*, Lieut Colonell *Iackſon*, Capt. *Farre*, and Capt *Nevill*,

Upon the firſt it was reſolved affirmatively by all, except the perſons laſt mentioned, and col. *Rich*, Major *Ducket*, Capt. *Ohara*, Capt *Audley*, and captane *Young*.

Laſtly, thoſe that were affirmative to the deſiring of ſatisfaction in the firſt propoſition: *viz.*

To know what particular Regiments, Troops, or companies of this Atmy are to be continued in ſervice in this Kingdom: did declare,

That this was deſired, partly to this end: That in giving the reſolution to the main Queſtion, none that are not deſigned to ſtay in *England*, may be with-held from engaging for *Ireland* by any ſecret expectation to be continued in *England* and partly to the end that thoſe who ſhall engage the rather, upon confidence of having the company of ſuch as doe agree with them in the ſame conditions, may not be deceived in that particular.

At a second Convention of Officers, at the desire of Sir William Waller, *and the rest of the Commissioners at* Saffron-Walden: *His Excellency being present, Munday* March 22. 1646. *And the results following.*

Present. Lieut. Gen. *Hamond*, Com. Gen. *Ireton*, Col. *Hamond*, col. *Harley* col. *Whaley*, col. *Rich*, col *Forteſcue*, col. *Lilburne*, col *Okey*, col. *Hewſon*, Leiut. col. *Pride*, Leiut col. *Grimes*, Leiut col *Jackson*, Major *Swallow*, Major *Hunting-ton*, Major *Cowell* Major *Sedaſcue*, Major *Waade*, Capt. *Brown*, Capt. *Grove*, Capt. *Lawrence*, Captaine *Ienkins* Captaine *Morgan*, Captaine *Farre*, Captaine *Goffe* Capt *Lagoe*, Cap. *Gladman* Capt. *Nevill*, Capt. *Pretty*, Capt. *Ohara*, Capt. *Leigh* Captaine *Audley*, capt. *Coleman*, capt. *Cannon*, capt. *Wallington*, capt. *Young* Leiut. *Scottin*, Leiutenant *Lloyd*.

At the desire of the commissioners, who now produced the Votes of the house of Commons of the 16. of *March*, concerning the raising of 60000. l. *per* moneth towards the payment of the Forces in *England* and *Ireland*, the same were read unto the Officers, and after some debate, this question was proposed to every Officer distinctly.

Whether upon the Votes and resolutions of the House of Commons, now read or any other consideration, do you finde cause to alter or recede from the third Quære yesterday resolved on, concerning assurance of pay, and subsistance? It was resolved in the Negative by all, except, col. *Harley*, col. *Forteſcue*, and capt. *Young*.

The same question being proposed concerning the fourth Article, *viz.* To have satisfaction in payment of Arrears, and indempnity, &c.

Resolved in the Negative by all, except capt. *Young*.

The like question being proposed, concerning the first *quærie*, to know what particular Regiments, Troops, or companies of this Army are to be continued in service in this Kingdome.

It past likewise in the Negatives, all referring to the severall Votes upon the same, yesterday delivered.

There being severall Officers now present, who were not here yesterday at the debates, *viz.*

capt. *Rainsborow*, capt. *Persons*, capt. *Rawlins*, capt. *Musket*, capt. *Biscoe*, capt. *Wolfe*, capt. *Kirby*.

The severall Votes of the House of Commons, concerning the sending several Regiments of Foot, and of Horse into *Ireland* was read unto them, as also the Votes of the House, concerning the raising of 60000. l. *per* moneth, towards the maintenance of the forces in *England* and *Ireland*, the same question and *quæries* thereupon, which were yesterday propounded, were now proposed to the said last mentioned Officers severally, and each Officer by himselfe, declared his Vote to the first question, viz.

Whether they were now prepared to give their resolution; Negative, and to all the rest affirmative.

Captaine *Young* coming in, declared, That he receded from these things, wherein yesterday he concurred to desire satisfaction, and resolves upon the main question, that he will ingage with as many of his Souldiers as he can get.

Captaine *Denizon*, capt. *Bushell*, capt. *Cox*, and capt. *Pooley*, of Colonell *Fortescues* Regiment, declare the same resolution with capt. *Young*.

A Letter from the Generall to Mr. SPEAKER.

SIR,

I Received your Letter dated the 27. of this instant, with an enclosed Order from the House of commons, for the making stop of the further proceed in a Petition, which the House was informed, was carrying on in the Army: In obedience to which, I sent out orders to the Officers of the Regiments quartering in these parts of the Kingdome, to meet at my quarters, that I might enquire into the whole matter, and take such course as might most effectually conduce unto the accomplishing your commands, where having communicated your letter and Orders to them, they did generally expresse a very deep sense of their unhappinesse, in being misunderstood in their clear intentions: which were no other then by way of Petition to represent unto me those inconveniencies, which would necessarily befal most of the Army after disbanding; desiring, That as much, as I should judge fit, and seasonable, might be submissively made knowne to the House of commons, which otherwise (your multiplicity of businesse intervening) might not be remembred: Assuring me, that they would wholly acquiesce, in whatsoever I should judge reasonable to offer, or you to grant on their behalfe: I have also according to your commands sent up Leiutenant Generall *Hamond*, colonell *Hamond*, colonell *Lilburne*, Leiutenant colonell *Pride*, and Leiutenant col. *Grimes*, to attend the Houses pleasure: who I hope will give you (as farre as they are acquainted therewith) a full and candid account of the whole proceedings in this Petition. *Sir*, there is one clause in your Letter, concerning all the Regiments marching this way, which I do not understand, except it be meant by *Sir Hardresse Wallers* Regiment, which I have remanded away at the instance of Major Generall *Skippon* upon the grounds in his inclosed letter, and colonell *Hammonds*, and colonell *Herbets*, now upon their march from Chester, being dismist from that service. *Sir*, I trust the Army will ever manifest their affections to the publike, by their constant perseverance in their accustomed obedience unto all your commands; which shall be ever really endeavoured, by:

Walden, March 30, 1647.

Your most humble Servant,
Tho. Fairfax.

For the Honourable William Lenthall *Esquier, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons.*

To

To His Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Knight, Generall of the Army raised by the Authority of both Houses of PARLIAMENT.

The Humble Petition of the Officers of the severall Regiments lately drawn off Your Excellencys Army for the service of Ireland: in the behalf of themselves and their Soldiers.

Sheweth,

THat your Petitioners, formerly members of your Army, by your Excellencies countenance and encouragement did draw off and engage our selves and souldiers for the service of Ireland, and since that contrary to our expectation, and as we humbly conceive, your Excellencies knowledge, there hath been very high affronts offered unto us by some of your Excellencies Army that came into our quarters and by a pretended authority from your Excellency and a speciall order from some of the cheif Commanders in your Excellencies Army, as they alledged, did at that time draw away many of our Souldiers, and have by false and scandalous suggestions and mis-informations endeauoured to seduce, corrupt and draw away many more, as doth appeare by the late losse of five companies. and the great discouragement of all the rest from that service, Which your Excellency endeavoured so much to promote, manifested by that never to be forgotten expression which then fell from you Excellency, *that rather then the service of Irel. should be neglected or retarded; you would willingly trayle a Pike your self.* And whereas it is by some persons or Pamphlets spread abroad, declaring that we deserted the Army meerely on purpose to make a party to stand in oppesition to the Army, and so to involve and ingage this] Kingdom in another bloody warre: which our consciences tell us to the contrary; and to give your Excellency and the world satisfaction, we call God the searcher of all hearts to witnesse for us, that such an intention never entered in, or came neare our thoughts, neither doe we know of any such inclination, or have had such intimation from any of our superiours, or from any others in the whole world.

We therefore make it our humble suit to your Excellency, that as we have all along served your Excellency in your just undertakings for the welfare of this Kingdome, with all integrity and fidelity, we may not now be looked upon as enemies but as well wishers to the peace of this Kingdome; and now ready, if not obstructed with our lives & fortuns to endeavour the relief of bleeding Irel. And to that purpose we furthur beseech your Excelto give command that no interception be made or interruption given to any person or persons imployed to London or to on our affaires by any of your Excellencies Army, but that at all times free passage May be allowed to your Petitioners.

And as in duty bound we shall pray for your Excellencys happines &c,

Wiliam Harbert *col.* John Melvin, *Liuet Col.* Richard Lunday *Major.* CAPTAINS, Nathaniell Short, Barthol Helbye, John Dunklin, Charles Awbery, Thomas Morgan.

CAP. LIEVT.

Liuet. Wiliam Mathews Lieut. Tho. Vahan Walter Brough Wil Hodskins. Peter Winchester, Richard Onyon, Edward Loe, ENSIGNES. James Short. William East, William Hall, Thomas Robins. John Stamp. John Williams, Math. Maderson, Thomas Hodskins, Nich. Kempson, *col.* Christ. Packham, *Lieut Col.* Fran. Dormer *Major.* CAPT. Robert Fish, Alexand. Frye, Geo. Masters, Abraham Clerk, Francis Wels, Lindsey Sharples. Stephen coyne, John Bissill. LIEVT. Robert Dormer, Thomas Moone. Jarvis Murrey, George Hope, Timothy clare. ENSIGNES. Robert Chaffe, Andrew Finch, Robert Batts, Bryan Elton, John Mackellan, David Hollan, Robert cloake.

SIR,

WHereas *at the last meeting of the Officers of this* Army *at* Saffron-Walden *I declared in the presence of the Lords and Comors commissioners of Parliament, to all the Officers then present; as also to such Officers as have since that time come to the* Head-*quarters, that they should make known to their severall Regiments the intention of the* Parliament *to send a considerable force of such of their Army that are willing to goe into* Ireland *for the reducing of that Kingdome, desiring them also to make known my desire to advance that service, and to prevent any hinderance thereof, and that if any Officers stand not disposed to engage in person in that imployment, yet that they would promote it in making known my desire and the* Votes *of both Houses, for the encouragment of such as should engage in that service; I doe therefore desire yeu to publish this Letter together with the said votes, by reading the same unto your Regiment in expectation whereof I remain,*

Walden, Your Assured Friend,
Aprill 18. 1648. FAIRFAX.

THE APOLOGIE.

Right noble and Faithfull Generall,

WEE who have for these two yeares past bin by your Excellence conducted through many dangers and by providedence hitherto protected, who have often seen the devouring sword of a raging Enemy drawne forth against us, threatning destruction to us, & now see them vanquished, & our selves seemingly setled in peace and safety, are yet sensible of another more dangerous storm hanging over our Heads then ever the malice of our open enemies could have contained, or their fury caused to fall upon us; which unlesse diverted, strike not only at our liberty, but our lives also; To whom, next to our maker shall wee fly for shelter but to your Excellency the Patron & Protector? From what secondary meanes shall we expect our Deliverance, but from thy hand that hath so often bin ingaged with us, & from that heart that hath as often been tender over and carefull for our security? can we suffer, and you not sympathize? can we be proclaimed enemies, and your Excellency remain secure? O dear Sir, let your wonted care for us be further demonstrated, cease not to speak for us, who together with

your

ſelfe and in obedience to your command have adventured all that is deare to us for the Kingdomes ſafety. Hath any thing been deſired by us that hath not beene promiſed, or then we have juſt cauſe to expect; if there hath, then both it and the Authors thereof periſh. but can the Parliament upon miſinformation paſſe us for enemies; and we not therein perceive our enemies deſign; can we be ſatisfied with a complement, when our fellow Soldiers ſuffer at every Aſſize for acts meerely relating to the Warre?

Is it not our lives we ſee? For where ſhall we be ſecured, when the meere envie of a malicious perſon is ſufficient to deſtroy us? Were our enemies in the Field with their Swords in their hands, we ſhould expect no more then a bare command, and a divine protection on our endeavours to free our ſelves, but 'tis another and a farre worſe enemy we have to deale with, who like Foxes lurke in their Dennes, and cannot be dealt withall, though diſcovered, being protected by thoſe who are intruſted with the *Government* of the Kingdome. It is the griefe of our hearts, that we cannot deſire our owne ſecurity without hazzard to your Excellency, if but in ſpeaking in our owne behalfe. When ſhall we ſee Juſtice diſperſed without partiality, or when ſhall the Weale of the publick be ſingly ſought after and endeavoured? Can this *Iriſh* Expedition be any thing elſe but a Deſigne to ruine and break this Army in pieces: Certainly reaſon tells us it can be nothing elſe; otherwiſe why are not thoſe who have been made inſtruments in our countries deliverance, againe thought worthy to be imployed? or why are ſuch, who for their miſcarriages have been caſt out of the Army, thought fit to be intruſted, and thoſe Members of the Army ingaged and preferred to that Service, when they are for moſt part ſuch, as had they conſidered their juſt demerrits, might rather have expected an ejection then employment: We are ſenſible, yea far more ſenſible of the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, crying aloud for a Brotherly aſſiſtance, then thoſe forward undertakers in this preſent Deſigne manifeſt themſelves to be, and ſhall willingly contribute the utmoſt of our abilities towards their reliefe, when we ſhall ſee this to be the onely thing ſought after and endeavoured; but wee are confident that your Excellencie cannot but perceive this plot is but a meere cloake for ſome who have lately taſted of *Soveraignty*; and being lifted beyond their ordinary Spheare of ſervants, ſeek to become Maſters, and degenerate into Tyrants; wee are earneſt therefore with your Excellencie, to uſe the utmoſt endeavour, that before any other or future Propoſitions be ſent to us, our expectations may be ſatisfied, which if they are not, we conceive our ſelves and our friends as bad as deſtroyed.

And ſhall your Excellency, or any other faithfull ſervant to the State be appointed for the Service of *Ireland*, and accept of that imployment, we muſt of neceſſity, contrary to our deſires, ſhew our ſelves averſe to that ſervice, until our deſires be granted, the juſt Rights and liberties of the Subjects vindicated and maintained.

Then

Then(as God and our owne conſciences beare us witneſſe,)we ſhall teſtifie to the Kingdome the integrity of our hearts to the ſervice of *Ireland*, and our forward actions in that imployment ſhall demonſtrate the ſincerity of our expreſſions. Once more we are earneſt with your Excellency for your aſſiſtance, without which we are like to be wholly ruined; and having obtained it, may be enabled as in duty we are bound to expreſſe our ſelves, your Excellencies and the Kingdomes moſt faithfull and obedient Servants.

Edward Saxby, *Tho. Moore*. Commiſſioners for the Generalls Regiment *Samuel Whiting*, *Will. Allin*. Leivtenant Generalls Regiment, *Anthony Nixon*. *Tho Shepherd*. Com. Gen. Regiment, *Wil. Ienes*, *John Casby*, Colonell *Fleetwoods* Regiment. *Nich. Lokier*, *Ioſeph Foſter*, Colonell Richhis Regiment. *H. Geathings*, *Edward Starre*, Colonell *Sheffields* Regiment. *Tho. Kendale*, *John Thomas*, Colonell Whaley his Regiment . *Elias Box*, *John Willowby*, Colonell *Butler* his Regiment.

28. Aprill. 1647.

A Second Apologie of all the private Souldiers in his Excellencies Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army to their *Commiſſion Officers*.

SIRS,

VVEE your Souldiers who have ſerved under your commands with all readineſſe to free this our Native Land and Nation from all Tyrannie and Opreſſions whatſoever, and that by vertue and power derived from this preſent Parliament, given not only to his Excellencie Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, our now preſent Generall but likewiſe under all the late Generalls his predeceſſors, under whom wee, even the whole Souldery, have ſerved both the State and you faithfully and diligently : By which meanes God hath been pleaſed to crowne us with Victorie, in diſperſing our common adverſaries, ſo that we hoped to put an end to all Tyranny and Oppreſſions,ſo that Juſtice and Equitie, according to the Law of this Land, ſhould have been done to the People, and that the meaneſt ſubject ſhould fully enjoy his Right, Libertie, and proprieties in all things: which the Parliament hath made known to all the world in divers of their Declarations, to which they have ſo often bound themſelves to performe, by their Oaths, Vowes, Covenants, and Proteſtations. Upon this ground of hope,we have gone through all difficulties and dangers, that we might purchaſe to the people of this Land , with our ſelves, a plentifull crop and harveſt of Libertie and Peace, but inſtead of it, to the great greif and ſadding of our hearts,wee ſee that oppreſſion is as great as ever, if not greater, yea, and that upon the cordiall freinds to the Parliament and us, and to the juſt Rights and Liberties of this Nation, that they with us are ſlighted, abuſed, beaten,and dragged to Jayles; yea,to the utter ruine of their eſtates,andloſſe of their lives,yea the beſt and moſt candid intentions and actions of theirs and ours groſſely and foulely miſ-conſtrued, even to ſuch a height as deſerving no leſſe then to be declared as troublers of, and enemies to the State and

Kingdome, and ſuch as have, and are now the enemies of the Parliament and Kingdome, are countenanced and honourrd, to be in places of greateſt truſt and are made Judges of them and us, for our lives and eſtates, yea, and in the great affairs of the Kingdome, ſitting in the Houſe of *C*ommons, though ſtill under Sequeſtration, they are made high *S*heriffes, Mayors of ſeverall Counties and Townes, Commi oners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, as in *Cumberland*, and the countie of *Durham* &c.

From whence we beleeve ſprings all our miſeries, and that ſo many of our fellow Souldiers, that have been disbanded, have been ſo rigorouſly dealt withall, as * impriſoned, indicted, and hanged, for things done in time and place of Warre, and neceſſity of the Parliaments ſervice required in their low condition, and without which, they could not have ſafely ſat in the Houſe of Parliament with their heads on: and the reaſon of all this we judge, is, becauſe our very Enemies are made our Judges. Yea ſuch is our condition, though we be oppreſſed, we may not cry: as it is too apparent, when of late we did in an humble and petitionary way ſeek to make knowne our grievances to our Generall; ſuch was our offence, as that we muſt preſently without being heard, be declared *Enemies to the State*: though notwithſtanding by theſe, our Enemies even ſuch as have bin Cavaliers in Armes, have promoted and framed divers Remonſtrances, Petitions, and Repreſentations, of dangerous conſequence, to the Parliament and Kingdome, and that againſt their moſt reall and cordiall friends; yet theſe have bin accepted, and great thanks returned them: which holds forth to us a cleare deſigne to enſlave all the honeſt party of this Kingdome, and in them wee and you alſo.

* The high Sheriſe of Kent, a man that was in the firſt Rebellion againſt the Parliament, and by his meanes laſt Aſſize indicted a Colonel for taking of Horſes, Exeter, At Northampton, Warwick, Alisbury, And this Aſſize at Salisbury. *London* condemned. All theſe will be proved, with many more inſtances.

Therefore, brave Commanders, the Lord put a ſpirit of courage into your hearts, that you may ſtand faſt in your integrity, that you have manifeſted to us your Souldiers; and we do declare to you, that if any of you ſhall not, he ſhall be marked with a brand of infamy for ever, as a Traytor to his Country, and an Enemy to his Army. Read, and conſider; was there ever ſuch things done by a Parliament, to proclaime us *Enemies to the State*, as they have done about the late Petition? the Lords and they could quickly agree to this, though they will be very tedious when any thing is offered that is for the good of the commonwealth, and to keep the hirelings * Wages, and not to give them that which they have ſo dearely bought with their blouds and lives, even his pay; and not only ſo, but to leave them to the mercileſſe malice of their wicked Enemies.

* As that of 26. moneths, the Horſe are behind 13. Moneths pay, and now to have but two Moneths pay: judge Heaven, and free people; God be judge of this great evill.

It is not better to dye like men, then to be enſlaved, and hanged like Dogs? which muſt and will be yours and our

our portion, if not now looked unto, even before our disbanding: so you may plainly see by this, their malice is great, yea, against our most honoured Generall, as that in the Lords House they did more then whisper, he was a *Delinquent*: If they do so now, and that to him, what will they not doe, not only to him, but to you, if a course be not taken for our and your security, before wee be disbanded, wee leave to you to judge.

We have been quiet and peaceable in obeying all Orders and commands, yet now we have a just cause to tell you, if we be not relieved in these our grievances, wee shall be forced to that, which we pray God to divert, and keep your and our hearts upright: desiring you to present these things to the Generall, as our desires.

1. *THat the honour of this Army may be vindicated, in every particular, especially about the late Petition, and reparations given, and justice done upon the fomenters.*

2 *That an Act of indempnity may be made for all things done in time and place of Warre.*

3. *That the Wives and children of those that have been slaine in the service, and maimed Souldiers, may be provided for.*

4. *Our Arreares under this Generall, to be paid us, our Arrears under other Generalls, to be audited and stated, and security given for the payment.*

5. *That we that have served the* Parliament *freely, may not be pressed out of the Kingdome.*

6. *That the Liberty of the Subject may be no longer inslaved, but that Iustice and Iudgement may be dealt to the meaneſt Subject of this Land, according to old Law.*

Now unlesse all these our humble requests, be by you for us your Souldiers and your selves stood for to be granted, it had better we had never been born, or at least we had never beene in Armes, but that we had by the Sword been cut off from the misery we and you are like to undergoe: So we rest, in hopes of your faithfulnesse.

Your Souldiers.

A Copy of a Letter from his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, *to the Right honourable, the Earl of* Manchester.

My Lord,

YOur Lordships Letter of the 28 I received yesterday, with the Votes of both Houses inclosed therein. Before the receipt thereof, I had called the Officers unto a generall Councel of Warre, to advise concerning the better transaction of the businesse, and prevention of all inconveniences thereupon, and when they were in consultation, I communicated our Lordships letter, (and the Votes therewith sent) unto them. After much time spent in debate thereof, this inclosed was delivered unto me by the Officers, as the Result of the Councell of

War; which being of very great concernment, I held it my duty to haſten unto your Lordſhips. It is no ſmall griefe of heart unto me, that there ſhould be any diſſatisfactions betwixt the Parliament and the Army, and that the late votes did not give ſatisfaction. I beſeech God to direct your Lordſhips to proceed with wiſdome, that things may be determined in love, and this poore Kingdome free from further diſtraction; which is the earneſt deſire of

Your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervant,
T. FAIRFAX.

Bury May 30. 1647.

For the Right Honourable the Earl of Manchester, *Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, pro tempore.*

Mr. SPEAKER,

HAving called the Officers of the Army to Saint Edmunds Bury, *I communicated unto them yeſterday the Votes of both Houſes, and a Letter of the Houſe of Peeres ſent therewith, concerning the diſbanding of the Army; After long conſultation had thereof, this encloſed was delivered unto me, as the Reſult of the Councell of Warre (where the Officers were very many and unanimous) which being of importance, I held it my duty to haſten the ſame unto you, being much perplexed in my thoughts that diſ-ſatisfactions betwixt the Parliament and the Army ſhould rather increaſe, then leſſen. I intreat you that there may be wayes of love and compoſure thought upon; I ſhall doe my endeavours, though I am forc'd to yeeld to ſomething out of order, to keep the Army from diſorder, or worſe inconveniences. I deſire you to take ſome ſpeedy reſolution for the compoſing of things, whereby the Kingdome may be happy in a timely deliverance from further diſtraction: for the effecting whereof I could be content to be a ſacrifice, as the laſt ſervice you can have from.*

Your moſt faithfull and humble ſervant,
T. FAIRFAX.

Burie May 30. 1647.

For the Honourable *William Lenthall*, Eſquire, Speaker of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

To his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Knight, Commander in Chiefe of the Parliaments Forces.

The Opinion and humble Adviſe of the Councell of Warre, convened at Bury *Saterday* 29. May. 1647. *In relation to the votes of Parliament, communicated to us by your Excellency, and the deſires of our advice thereon,*

Humbly Sheweth,

1. THat upon the reports come to all quarters of the Army concerning the Votes and proceedings of the Houſe, May 21. As alſo of thoſe on Tueſday, May 25. we find the generallity of the Army [as we are our ſelves] much unſatisfied in the one, and ſomething amazed and ſtartled at the other, the

firſt Votes (of Friday) coming much ſhort of ſatisfaction as to the greivances of the Army, then reported to the Houſe, and not taking any notice at all of ſome that were moſt materiall, and the latter (of Tueſday) importing a reſolution ſuddenly to disband the Army by peace-meale, before equall ſatisfaction be given to the whole in any of the greivances, or ſo much as any conſideration had of ſome others moſt materiall; And alſo before any effectuall performance of that ſatisfaction which the Votes of Friday ſeemed to promiſe, as to ſome of the grievances, all which we ſhall be readie (upon a little time given us) to repreſent to your Excellency, more diſtinctly and in particular.

2. That the ſaid diſtraction, and the jealouſies occaſioned upon the ſame proceedings, as we feare, and by ſome effects already appearing, do find, may unhappily produce dangerous diſturbances and tumultuous actions amongſt ſeverall parts of the Army, as they now lie diſperſed and remote from the Head-quarters; eſpecially amongſt thoſe Regiments whoſe principall Officers, by neglecting or diſerting their Soldiers in their neceſſary concernments, or juſt grievances, have diſobliged their Souldiers, and loſt their intereſt with them, in ſo much as ſuch Officers are in ſome ſort forced to with draw from their charges, and can ſcarce with ſafety come at them, and to prevent the inconveniences or ill conſequences which ſuch diſturbed or tumultuous actings might produce, either to the cortryes where the Army quarters or to the Kingdome, We humbly adviſe your Excellency without delay, to draw the Army (or at leaſt thoſe parts thereof that are not fixt to certain Quarters, upon particular duty) unto a cloſer poſture of Quarters, ſo as each Regiment, Troop, and Company, may lye under the veiw, and over-ſight of their reſpective Officers that are left with them, and all of them under a nearer view of, and correſpondency with the Head-quarter, which may thus have a readier influence upon all, for the better preſerving of good Order, and prevention of inconveniences, and in ſuch poſture for the Countryes eaſe, to remove and ſhift the whole Quarter once a week at leaſt, till upon further ſatisfaction, the Army may be quetly and orderly diſbanded.

3. That upon the ſame diſſatisfaction and jealouſies we find an extream earneſtneſſe and violent propenſity among the ſouldiers to a generall Rendezvouz, and we verily beleive, that the firſt attempt to disband any one Regiment, before equall ſatisfaction to all, and aſſurance againſt thoſe things they have cauſe to fear, will occaſion them all to draw together and Rendezvouz of themſelves, as it were upon an Alarm. And to prevent the inconveniences or ill conſequences both to theſe Countries and the Kingdome, of any ſuch tumultuous or confuſed drawing to a Rendezvouz without order, we humbly adviſe your Excellency without delay after the contracting of quarters, to order a generall Rendezvouz for thoſe parts of the Army, whoſe quarters ſhall be ſo contracted: And this we adviſe and deſire the rather becauſe of the ſcandalous ſuggeſtions of ſome, impor-

importing as if the late discontents appearing in the Army, and the representations of grievances from the Army, were not really in or from the body of the Souldiery, but a meere delusion or appearance made by the contrivance and artifice of some factious Officers, or other Persons in the *Army*. the truth and falshood whereof, as also the true temper and disposition of the Army, your Excellency, and all other, may most clearly discover by such a Generall Rendezvouz, without the delay or troubl of going to every Regiment a part as they now lye) the Army may more certainly understand what they may expect from the Parliament, and both Parliament and Kingdome what to judge and trust to, concerning the Army, and to that purpose at such a Rendezvouz, we shall (we hope through the grace of God) discharge our duties to the Parliament and Kingdom, as well as to your Excellency and the Army, and demonstrate that the good and quiet of the Kingdome, is much dearer to us then any particular concernment of our own. These two last things we humbly advise and desire may be done without delay, or that otherwise we may be held acquitted from all inconveniences that may ensue in our severall charges.

4. Since (besides the dissatisfaction to the Army hitherto, in the points of grievances, and the defect of assurance, as to severall of these things promised for our satisfaction, and besides the jealousies occasioned upon the Votes of Tuesday last, and all the ill consequences which may follow in proceeding thereupon) That course of disbanding the Army by peece-meale before the satisfaction intended, be performed equally to the whole, seemes something strange and unusuall (not practised in disbanding of other Armies, as Major Gen. *Massies* Brigade, the *Scots Army*, &c or used that we have heard of, by any States towards any Army that was ever accounted faithfull; We humbly desire your Excellency by an effectual Letter to move the Parliament for this, as that which we humbly offer and do beg at them, both for their owne honor, in relation to what future Armies they may have occasion to imploy, for the reputation of your Excellency, and this Army, as well as for its better satisfaction, and as they tender the good and assured quiet of this Kingdome, or the effectuall reliefe and saving of *Ireland*, that they would be pleased to resume the consideration of things voted on Tuesday last, and to suspend any present proceeding thereupon, as also to resume the grievances of the *Army*, together with the things proposed in the conclusion of the Narrative from the Officers, and to give satisfaction, or at least some resolution to each of them, and that they would not think it fit to put that temptation, those jealousies, and that dishonour upon the Army, as to take it disbanded in scattered peeces, before satisfaction be equally given to the whole.

Whereas, what we here desire your Excellency to move, may be said, if admitted into consideration, to tend to delay the reliefe of *Ireland*.

1. We find most clearly, that the great hopes suggested to the Parliament, of the supply of that service in that way at present intended, will prove as to any further

ther expectation out of this Army, but vaine and deluſive, as the loud noyſe of ſo many powerfull Officers, with 50. Companies of Foot, and ten of Horſe, ſo long ſince ingaged for that ſervice, have already proved, and if herein our judgment be not credited, we have yet diſcharged our duty to the Parliament, and both Kingdomes in declaring it.

2. We cannot but for our owne, and the Armies further diſcharge, and clearing, declare, That if the Parliament had not been abuſed by many of thoſe they have employed, and intruſted for the promotion of that ſervice, and had not bin by ſuch mens falſe informations, or miſrepreſentations concerning the Army, or otherwiſe diverted from the conſideration of, or from giving reaſonable ſatisfaction to the Army in theſe things propoſed by the generality of the Officers at the firſt meeting at *Walden* in March laſt in order to that ſervice, and had not by like miſchievous practiſes of ſuch incendiaries been ſince then moved and drawn to ſuch things, and in ſuch a ſeries and ſucceſſion, as have conduced to multiply diſcontents, diſobligations, and provocations upon the Army, (we ſay had it not been for ſuch perſons and ſuch things) we are confident might have had [if they had pleaſed] an Army entire, and ready formed under their old Officers, and conduct, to have engaged for that ſervice, having found a juſt conſideration for the ſervices paſt and aſſurance of pay and ſubſiſtence in that to come.

Saterday the 29. of *May* 1647. At A Councell of Warre, held at St. *Edmunds Bury*, there were preſent.

Commiſſary Gen. *Ireton.*
Col. *Whaley.*
Col. *Rich.*
Col. Sir *Hardreſſe Waller.*
Col. *Hughſon.*
Col. *Okyes.*
Col. *Lilburne.*
Leiut. Col. *Jackſon.*
Leiut. Col. *Pride.*
Lieut. Col. *Read.*
Lieut. col. *Salmon.*
Lieut. col. *Jubs.*
Major *Diſborow.*
Major *Read.*
Major *Huntington.*
Major *Tomlinſon.*
Major *Swallow.*
Major *Horton.*
Major *Gooday.*
Major *Smith.*
Major *Cowel.*
Major *Wade.*
Captaine *Jenkin.*
Capt. *Lilburne.*

Capt. *Pretty.*
Capt. *Morgan.*
Capt. *Grove.*
Capt. *Cannon.*
Capt. *Pitchford.*
Capt. *Dale.*
Capt *Husbands.*
Capt. *Hawes.*
Capt. *Bethel.*
Capt. *Coleman.*
Capt. *Laton.*
Capt. *white.*
Capt. *Highfield*
Capt: *Rainborow.*
Capt. *Lee.*
Capt. *Relph.*
Capt. *Spooner.*
Capt. *Orpin.*
Capt. *Clark.*
Capt. *Hoddin.*
Capt. *Stodder.*
Capt. *Ask.*
Capt. *Holmes.*
Capt. *Tulhurſt:*
Capt. *Gaugff.*
Capt. *Grigſon.*

Capt. *Lago.*
Capt. *Davies.*
Capt. *Toppington.*
Capt. *Brafield.*
Capt. Lieut. *Kirby.*
Capt L. *wallington.*
Capt L. *Audley.*
Capt. L. *Hewes.*
Capt. L. *Knight.*
Capt. L. *Arnop.*

Lieut. *Scotten.*
Lieut. *Cowell.*
Lieut. *Sheers.*
Lieut. *Enſor.*
Lieut. *Barton.*
L. *Hooker.*
L. *Miller.*
L. *White.*
L. *Heyden.*
L. *Phillips.*
L. *Wheeler.*
L. *Singleton.*
L *Gough.*
L. *Morgan.*
L. *Topping.*

L. *Erwood.*
L. *Hawes*
L. *Axtell.*
L. *Baber.*

Cornet *Moore.*
C. *Southwood.*
C. *Baker.*
C. *Jennings.*
C. *Buſh.*
C. *Warren.*
C. *Green.*
C. *Eſſex.*

Enſigne *Pearth.*
E. *Wright.*
E. *Gregory.*
E. *Camfield.*
E. *Rawlins.*
E. *Nicholds.*
Quarter-Maſter *Savage.*
Q. *Warren.*
Q. *Hunt.*
Q. *Samer.*
Q. Maſter *Archer.*

To his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, Knight, Captain Generall of the forces rayſed by the Authority of PARLIAMENT.

The humble Petition of the Souldiers of the Army, preſented to his Excellency at a Councel of warre, held at St Edmonds Bury on Saturday 29 May 1647.

Humbly Sheweth,

THat we your Petitioners conſidering the late Orders for disbanding the Army without redreſſing our grievances, vindicating the Army, or calling to accompt ſuch perſons who have been intenders, contrivers, and promoters of our deſtruction, which [being but reaſonable] we humbly conceive we may juſtly expect ſhould not be denyed before disbanding us apart one Regiment from another, contrary to the examples of other Armies, disbanding in this Kingdome, which poſture renders us ſuſpicious to the Kingdome, to whom, for ſome of our Accompts (though humble and Iuſt) we have already been declared enemies and to whom (for ought we know) for the reſt of our doing, may be preſented with the ſame conſtructions.

We your Petitioners humbly beſeech your Excellencie, you would be pleaſed to appoint a Rendezvouz ſpeedily for the Army, & alſo to uſe your utmoſt endeavours it be not disbanded before our ſad and preſſing greivances be heard, and fully redreſſed; which if not done before disbanding, we humbly conceive we ſhall be enforced upon many inconveniences, which will (of neceſſitie ariſe) when we [though unwilling] ſhall be neceſſitated (for avoyding of deſtruction like to all on the whole Army, if not prevented) to doe ſuch things our ſelves, which if your Excellency (out of your wiſdome and prudence) ſhall prevent, by granting our juſt deſires in a way of Order, we ſhall abundantly rejoyce in it, and be (with cheerfulneſſe) enabled by it, to ſubcribe our ſelves.

Your Excellencies, and the Kingdomes innocent and faithfull ſervants, whoſe names are hereunto annexed, being Agitators in behalf of the ſeverall Regiments.

Edward Saxby, Edward Taylor, Agitators of the Generalls Regiment of Horſe. *William Allen. Sam. Whiting.* Liuetenant Generalls Regiment. *Tho. Shepherd, Anth. Nixon.* Commiſary Generals Regiment. *Edward Twig, Tho. Iones.* Colonell Fleetwoods Regiment. *Thomas Kendall, William Young,* Colonell Whaleyes Regiment. *Edward Starre, Edward Geathings,* Colonell Sheffields Regiment. *Iohn Willoughby, Tobias Box.* Col. butlers Regiment. *Tho. Browne. Barthol. Wedlock,* Colonell Sir Robert Pyes Regiment. *George Stenſon, Richard Salter.* Colonell Graves his Regiment. *Nicholas Lockyer, Iohn Braman.* Col. Riches Regiment. *Edward Vaughan, Iohn Newſon* Of the Generalls Regment of Foot, *Robert Maſon, Henry Anderſon,* Colonell Wallers Regiment. *Nicholas Andrews, Ralph Prentice,* Colonell Harlowes Regiment. *Herbert Feild, Tho. Walſton.* Colonell Lilburnes Regiment. *Edward Garn, Daniell Hinksman,* Colonell Hewſons Regiment. *William Baker.* Colonell Lamberts Regiment.

To the right honourable Field-Martiall, Generall Skippon *Lieut. Gen* Cromwel *Commiſſary Generall* Ireton, *and Collonel* Fleetwood.

HAving received at the laſt convention of the Officers of the Army (at *Walden*) your commands and directions to our Regiaments; Firſt, for publiſhing the Votes of the Houſe of Commons for the ſatisfaction of the Army in point of Arreares and Indemnity. And ſecondly, for a faithfull, diligent, and impartiall enquiry into the preſent temper and diſpoſition of the Army: In which, having accordingly (with diligence) endevoured to anſwer your expectation in what you have enjoyned us; we doe, to the beſt of our underſtandings, repreſent unto you, That we finde both Officers and Souldiers at preſent, quiet, and free from any viſible diſtemper: Nevertheleſſe are ſenſible of many preſſing grievances, which they having orderly and quietly made known unto us, we humbly in their, and our behalves, repreſent unto you as followeth.

1 That whereas it pleaſed the honourable Houſes of Parliament, having received information of a dangerous petition in the Army, to declare and immediatly publiſh in print to the Kingdome, That that Petition (which indeed was but onely intended to be preſented to the Generall with ſubmiſſion to his approbation) did tend to put the Army into diſtemper and mutiny to obſtruct the reliefe of *Ireland*, and put conditions upon the Parliament, and declaring the Petitioners, if they ſhall continue in their diſtempered condition, and goe on in promoting and advancing that Petition, and, ſhall be lookt upon, and proceeded againſt as enemies to the State, and diſturbers of the publick peace. Which ſaid information miſrepreſenting our intentions, hath cauſed that heavy charge which remains upon record, as a *Memorandum* of infamy upon us to poſterity, we cannot chuſe but with ſadneſſe of ſpirit, be deeply ſenſible, that ſo humble and innocent an addreſſe intended to the Generall, could beget ſo ſtrange an interpretation, the ſubſtance of thoſe things which we intended to ſue for therein, beeing no other then what the Parliament promiſed, and frequently confirmed unto by their Declarations.

2 That whereas thoſe perſons, who have by the foreſaid Information, attempted to our great prejudice, to beget miſ-underſtandings betwixt the Parliament and their Army, by their ſurreptitious obtaining and miſrepreſenting our intention in the ſaid Petition, and by divulging abroad ſcandalous Letters from unknowne hands, (the Authours whereof are concealed, and not brought forth to make judiciall proofes of thoſe things laid to our charge, which wee cannot but look upon as a juſt cauſe of grief, that the ſuggeſters of ſuch things ſeemed to prevaile ſo farre as to gaine encouragement, and we who are innocent, remaine unjuſtified in the eyes of the Kingdome.

4 That divers Officers of the Army of publick and knowne integrity, have been ſent for to the Parliament, ſome whereof at this preſent attended there,

and have had no tryall, nor any thing conſiderable, that we know of, layd to their charge. And more particularly, That Enſigne *Nichols*, a member of this Army, hath been illegally impriſoned by Capt. *Dormer*, a late Officer of this Army, (but now engaged for *Ireland*) his Pockets ſearch't, and his Papers taken from him contrary to the Lawes of the Kingdome, or Diſcipline of war, and ſince (by order of the Commiſſioners) ſent from *Derby-Houſe* to treat with the Army about the reliefe of *Ireland*; was ſent to *London*, (without the Generals privity,) where he is ſtill kept Priſoner) at great expences, and not brought to tryall; which preſident may equally extend to any or all in the Army. Which ſaid particular, bearing with it the face of delay and protraction, we cannot but looke upon as a juſt cauſe of trouble unto us.

4 That whereas we underſtand, that the Parliament hath voted a ſudden disbanding of the A R M Y, not having made a ſufficient proviſion for the auditing of our Arrears, and ſtating of our accouuts ſo fully, as we may not be liable to future charges concerning them, our owne reaſon, and the experience of others, doth make us ſenſible, how difficult, chargeable, and uncerrain the oftaining thereof will be after we are disbanded, and diſperſed to our ſeverall homes.

5 That no proviſion hath been made for the payment of our dearly earned wages, to the expence of our blood, and often hazard of our lives; ſaving a Vote of ſix weeks pay upon disbanding: Now at the conſummation of our work) which is ſo ſmall, that it will inevitably expoſe us (eſpecially the private Souldiers) to great extremity, being ſcarſe ſufficient to maintain many of them in their journey to their own homes.

6 That nothing as yet hath been perfected for our future ſecurity for things done as Souldiers in relation to the warre, which the exigency thereof, and difficulties therein, hath compelled, us unto the want whereof we cannot chuſe but be very ſenſible of, when we conſider the many ſad exam ples of bitter and rigorous proſecutions at Law, againſt Souldiers for acts done in order to the promotion of the Kingdomes ſervice.

7 That we ſtand in feare, (eſpecially the private Souldiers) of being impreſſed or inforced to ſerve as Souldiers out of the Kingdome; many having ſpent themſelves freely and voluntarily in the publicke ſervice, forſaking their trades, and friends, and livelihoods; to which many deſire to returne again for their better future ſubſiſtance.

8 That whereas divers of us (eſpecially the private Souldiers) who were Apprentices in *London*, or other parts of the Kingdome, have voluntarily engaged themſelves in this ſervice, being incouraged thereunto by the Parliaments Declarations, ſhewing that the time they ſhould ſo ſpend in the proſecution thereof, ſhould be as effectuall in order to their Freedome, as if they had

had remainened with their ſeverall reſpective Maſters. Notwithſtanding which, many have refuſed to give us freedome, who may juſtly claim it by the aforeſaid Declarations for that purpoſe.

9 That many Souldiers who have loſt their lives, Widowes their Husbands, and Children their Parents, in this ſervice, and thereby are reduced to great poverty, (even to beggery) are not ſufficiently provided for a future livelihood.

10 That whereas divers perſons both privately and publickly laboured by evill aſperſions and falſe calumnies to render us odious to the Kingdom, thereby ſeeking to alienate their affections from us; in order to which they have publiſhed many Bookes, *viz.* Mr. *Edwards* his *Gangræna*, and divers others of that nature: and alſo very lately a report divulged abroad, that wee had petitioned his Majeſty, inviting him to come to the head of the Army, and that we would reſtore him to his Crowne, Throne and Dignity: A perſon of eminence averred before a very great and publik convention in the Citie of *London*, that he ſaw a Copy of that Petition which was delivered to his Majeſty: And that the Army was no longer a New Modell, but had 4000. Cavaliers in it, that hee comming from the Fountaines head, perceived, that the King and Cavaliers, have their ſingle and whole dependency upon this Army. And others privatly ſuggeſting the ſame, by diſperſing ſeverall copies of the ſaid pretended Petition; the ſeverall particulars whereof wee proteſt againſt, as moſt falſe, and are moſt confident, that it proceeded not from any probable ground which might argue ſuch an intention in us, but ſingly from the malice of our enemies.

11 That notwithſtanding the great care of the Committee and Treaſurers for the Army, and the cheerfull readineſſe of the moſt Counties in paying their Aſſeſments, (as theſe where we now quarter generally affirme;) nevertheleſſe through want of pay, the private Souldiers are neceſſitated to take free quarter for the preſent, which is very irkſome to be ſo burdenſame to the kingdome.

Having thus according to your commands, as fully as we are able, accounted unto you what is the true genuine ſenſe of the Army, and not their imaginary, but reall grievances which inevitably fall upon us, except the Parliament in their wiſdomes take ſome effectuall courſe to prevent them; and as we, if the time allowed to us by you, would permit, we could clearly demonſtrate unto you: we therefore aſſume the boldneſſe to deſire you to be ſenſible with us, of what we have offered unto you, and to preſent unto the Parliament the particulars aforeſaid, in ſuch humble way and manner, as you conceive moſt effectuall to the accompliſhment of our future quiet, and welbeing: That you will doe us right if in caſe any of our actions be miſ-repre-

ſented to the Parliament: That you will do us right if in caſe any of our actions be miſ-repreſented to the Parliament: That you will (as farre as juſtly you can) cover our weakneſſe, if any thing of that nature hath ſlipt us in the tranſaction of this ſo weighty and conſiderable an importance, that the integrity of our hearts is not hid from you, and which we doubt not, but will clearly appeare, (notwithſtanding the malice, or ſecret workings of any perſon whatſoever ſeeking to aſperſe us, when our proceedings herein, ſhall be throughly inquired into.) And if any thing expreſſed herein, may appeare or be underſtood otherwiſe, by the Honourable Houſes of Parliament, we deſire you will declare the minde and ſenſe of us all; which is that we have endevoured to our utmoſt in all our expreſſions, to avoid things which might offend, or in the leaſt manner intrench upon the honour and authority of the Parliament, for which we have adventured all we have in this world, that is deare unto us. But if any reflection may ſeem to touch upon ſome particulars, our intentions are no other, then towards thoſe who have abuſed the Parliament, Kingdome, and a faithfull Army.

A Liſt of the ſeverall reſpective Officers intereſted herein.

Collonells, *Robert Hammond, Jo. Lambert, Rich. Engolesby, Ed. Whaley Jo. Okey, Jo. Hewſon, Nath. Rich.* Lieutenant-Collonels, *Iſaac Ewer, Mark Grime, Tho. Pride, Edw. Salmon, Tho. Reade, Jo. Jubbs.* Majors. *Tho. Smith, Wroth Rogers, Io. Wade, Dan. Axtell, Io. Desborough, Ad. Scroop, Geo. Sedaciue, Ro. Huntington, Thomas Hortor, Ro Swallow, Will. Cowel.* Captaines, *Iohn Reynolds, Tho. Diſney, Io. Pitchford Ie. Carter, Hen. Binfield, Sam. Grames, Dan. Dale. Io. Grove, William Rainborough, Walter Bethel, Tho. Ireton, Will. Coleman, Will. Evanſon, Azariah Husbands, Sam. Gardiner, Ben. Burgeſſe, Will, Streetham, Io. Ienkin, Hen Pritty, Rich. Zuncby, Hen. Cannon, Tho. Pennifather, Io. Spooner Io. Gladman* Cap. Lieuten. *Will. Reade, Ro. Kerby* Cap. Lieut *Rich. Aske, Tobias Bridges, Ie. Clarke, Edm. Rolfe, Ioſeph Bliſſet, Oriell Smith Rich. Hodden, Ro. Gibbon, Hen. Davis Lewis* Awdeley Cap. Lieut. *Io. Wallington* Cap. Lieut. *Edw. Orpin, Ro. Anderſon, Tho. Haws* Cap, Lieu. *Giles Sanders, Rich. Sanders, Io. Shrimpton* Cap. Lieut. *Francis Allen, Io. Grime, Ia. Iermin, Tho. Price, Fra. Hawes, Will. Arnop.* Cap. Lieu. *Mat. Cadwell, Io. Biſcoe Sam. Roſe, Wil. Weare,* Cap. Lieu. *Ro. Read, Io. Toppenden, Alex. Braſield, Wil. Goffe, Tho. Patſons, George Greg ſon, Roger Alſop, Io. Salkeild, Waldoffe Lagoe, Io. Maſon, Hen. Lilburn, Abra. Holmes, Ier. Iolchurſt, Amos Stoddar.* Lieutenants. *Griffith Lloyde, Edw. Scotton, Tho. Sheares, Nat. Wight, Ben. Gifford, Sampſon Toogood, Hen. Johnſon, Ioh. Merriman, Hen. Martin, Edm. Challender, George Enſor, George Elſemore. Tho. Aldridge, Io. Peck, Io. Frank, Gelen. Taylor, Stephen White, Io. Barrow, Rich. Kemp, Rich. Moſſe, Ralph Parker, Martin Iubbs, Tho. Ellis, Phil. Price, Jo. Hawes, Io. Clark, Ro. Taylor. Io. Friend, Rich. Tompſon, Io. Savage, Tho. Camberlain. Geor. Smith, Ralph Gale*

Nat.

Nat. Chaſſe, Ralph Wilſon, Io. Watſon, Io. Filkins, Lewis Norcot, William Farley, Brian Smith, Alex, Davis, Ro. Lewis, Io. Toppen. Hugh Ienkin, Io. Nichola, Edward Dornay, Io. Miller, Ia. Clark Edw. Farmer, Tho. Day, Randol Warner, Wil. Ginge, Wil. Skelley, Ethel. Morgan, Adrian Arwood, Ienken Bevon, George Ienkin, Wil. Hill Io. Ward, Tho. Barker, Ed. Singleton, Io. Friend, Rich. Tompſon, Tho. Coſſinghurſt, And. Edwards, Sam Axtel, Fran. Wheeler, Io. Potter. Cornets, *Wil. Barrington Io. Fox, Rich. Southwood, Tho. Barkley, Edm. Winſtanly, Wil. Whittington, Io. Sabberton, George Ioyce, Chry. Kember, Io. Corde, Geor. Tracy, Wil. Beuck, Io. Clark, Wil. Leadbrook, Pet. Wallis, Sam. Packer, Hen. Mills, Io. Southwood, Ia. Wilſon, Io. Spencer, Rich. Webb. Cha. Whitehead, Abel Warren, Anth. Lacon, Wil. Lurna, Sam. Boalley.* Enſignes, *Cha. Bolton, Rob. Smith, Geo. Clark Willi. Iones, Ier. Hand, Sam. Bince, Ro. Beldeo, Tho. Rawlins, Ier. Camfield, Tho Newman, Evan Iones, Hen. Cedwath, Fardinando Green, Geor. Neckthey, Francis Farmer, Hen Williams. Tho. Lewis, Rich. Bourn, Will. Ioyce, Wil. Galhampton, Rob. Banning, Will. Everard, Io. Maſon, Will. Cooper, Downhalt Gregory, Abinam Spooner, Wil. Reard, Sam. Baſe Edw. Evans, Io. Biſhop, Fra. Litler, Wil. Diſney, Io. Ward, Rich Eſſex Tho. Chambers, Io. Bret, Abel Warren.* Quartermaſters, *Wil. Williams, Ia. Goodwin, Caleb Leigh, Wil. Miller, George Sanders, Rich. Slaynor, Ed. Warren, Tho Savage, Nath. Chedis, Philip Ramſey, Tho. Stewart, Io. Ads, Ro. Agard, Io. Kennet, Hen. Ward, Io. Due, Tho. Ward, Phil. Ieanes, Rich. Hunt.*

A Letter from his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, *ſent to both Houſes of Parliament, concerning the Kings being brought from Holdenby towards the Army.*

Mr. Speaker,

BY my laſt of Friday the 4 inſtant, I gave you account of what I underſtood from Holmby concerning the undertaking of ſome Souldiers on Wedneſday laſt, to ſecure the King from being ſecretly conveyed away, and that Col. *Graves* being thereupon ſecretly ſlipt away, I had ſent Col. *Whaley* with his Regiment to attend the Commiſſioners, and take charge of the Guards there, On Saturday morning, being at a Randezvouze, beyond Newmarket, and advancing the Army this way, in order to quarter about Cambridge, I received a Advertiſement, That the Souldiers of Holmby had upon Friday morning (with his Majeſties conſent) brought him away from thence, together with your Commiſſioners, That they lay at Hirchingbrook near Huntingdon on Friday night, and would be at Newmarket that day; The ground of this remove was alledged to be an apprehenſion in the Souldiers, of ſome Forces gathering towards that place ſuddenly to fal upon them, & force the K. out of their hands, to withſtand which, they thought they might be too weak (having then no notice of Col. *Whaleys* comming with his Regiment)

upon

upon this immediately I ſent after Col. Whaley, to advertiſe him thereof, with order to direct his courſe towards Huntingdon, and (where ere he met his Majeſty and the Commiſſioners) to deſire, that they would come on no further this way, but rather to return, and ſuffer him to guard them back.

And to prevent any danger imaginable therein, I ſent off from the Rendezvouz two Regiments of Horſe more, to march after Col. *Whaley* towards Huntingdon, and ſo on towards Holdenby, to be aſſiſtant to him in the Guards about his Majeſty, if it ſhould be found needfull.

And thus I held on the motion of the reſt of the Army this way.

Towards Evening (after the Quarters of the Army were aſſigned, and taken up hereabouts, and the Regiments marching off towards their ſeverall Quarters, I underſtood from Colonel Whaley, that meeting the King and your Commiſſioners, upon their way from Huntington towards New-market, about foure miles ſhort of Cambridge, they had forborn to come on any further; but his Majeſty being not willing to return back for Holdenby, they had taken up his Quarter for preſent at Sir *John Cuts* his houſe at *Childerley*, being the next houſe of any conveniency to the place where we met them.

Hereupon I ſent thither Sir *Hardres Waller*, and Col. *Lamlert*, to informe the Commiſſioners of my comming to *Cambridge*, and the Armies quartering hereabouts, and to deſire, that they would think of returning back with his Majeſty to Holdenby, and (becauſe there might bee many inconveniencies in delay) that they would not make any ſtay where they were, but remove back that way next morning (though it were the Lords day) the Commiſſioners refuſed to act or meddle any otherwiſe in diſpoſing the King, then by their Anſwer to me, (whereof I have ſent you a Copy here incloſed) you ſee. And his Majeſty declares himſelfe very unwilling to goe back to Holdenby. I have thus given you a true and faithfull account, how his Majeſty came to the place where he is, and how the Quarters of the Army have fallen out to be ſo neare him.

What ever (by the concurrence of events to make it thus) may be ſuſpected of deſigne therein. This is the exact truth of the buſineſſe, and I can clearly profeſſe, (as in the preſence of God) for my ſelf, and dare be confident of the ſame for all the Officers about me, and body of the Army, that this remove of his Majeſty from Holdenby was without any deſigne, knowledge, or privity thereof on our parts, and a thing altogether unexpected to us, untill the notice of it came upon the Randezvouz, as before; neither the Randezvouz or comming hither to quarter with the Army from any purpoſe, or with any expectation to be ſo neere His Majeſty as it happens. But the effect is ſo farre meerly providentiall, and (to us) accidentall; but the caſe being

as it is (your Commissioners refusing to intermeddle as before, and the King to goe back) I have placed and shall continue about his Majesty, such a Guard of trusty men, and under such command, (Collonell Whaley being chiefe in the charge) as I may be responsall for to the Parliament and Kingdome, (so farre as can reasonably be expected from me) by the blessing of God to secure his Majesties person from danger, and prevent any attempts of such as may designe, (by that advantage of his Person) the best to raise any new Warre in this Kingdome. And truely (Sir,) to prevent any such mischiefe as it is my own most earnest and humble desire, so I finde it to be the unanimous desire and study of the Army, that a firme peace in this Kingdome may be setled, and the Liberties of the people cleared and secured accordingly, to the many Declarations by which we were invited and induced to ingage in the late War: and the Parliaments effectuall and speedy application to these two things (I finde) would conduce more fully and surely to a chearefull and unanimous disbanding; And yet (what ever may be suggested, or suspected) I doe certainly finde (and dare assure you; you may depend upon it.) That the sense of the Army is most cleare from any purpose, or inclination, to oppose the setling of Presbytery, or to have the Independent Government set up, or to uphold a licentiousnesse in Religion, or to meddle with any such thing, to the advancement of any particular party or interest whatsoever, but to leave all such particular matters to the wisdome of the Parliament.

I shall by the next send you a full Account of the proceeding and unanimous resolutions of the Army at the late Rendezvouze (being not at present prepared so fully as is fit.) The letter from both Houses I have received but this night, the Quarters of the Army being lately altered before, will make the Heath neere New-market lesse convenient for a Randezvouze, yet I shall take order (according to the desire of the Houses) to have a Randezvouze either there or not farre of on Wednesday next, I remain.

Your most humble and faithfull Servant,

Cambridge June 6. 1647. *FAIRFAX.*

Postscript.

I shall according to my duty, and the desires of the Houses, doe my utmost to keep the Army in good order, to which I finde it absolutely necessary, that there be some pay presently sent down.

For the Honourable *William Lenthall* Esq; Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons.

Mr.

Mr. Speaker:

In my laſt I promiſed to ſend you by the next an Account of the Army at the late Randezvouze: I have ſent you the ſame in two Papers unanimouſly agreed upon there, by both Officers and Souldiers: I finde in one of them divers things which your later proceedings ſince the Reſolution of disbanding may have given ſatisfaction unto: But the Army having then no knowledge thereof, it was thus paſſed and delivered to me, and I cannot but ſend it to them: you may then ſee what they then did remaine unſatisfied in.

Underſtanding, that his Majeſty and your Commiſſioners were much traitened and diſaccommodated in the Houſe of *Childerley*, I went thither yeſterday to adviſe with your Commiſſioners about the diſpoſall of his Majeſty, for more conveniency to himſelfe and them, then that place did afford: The Commiſſioners were pleaſed wholly to refuſe giving of any adviſe or opinion at all in the buſineſſe, and therefore the King declaring his Reſolution not to goe back to *Holdenby*, unleſſe he were forced, yet complaining much of the inconveniency he ſuffered where he was, and preſſing for a remove to *New-Market*, and your Commiſſioners not judging it inconvenient for him to be there: I ordered Col. *Whalley* this day to attend his Majeſty, and the Commiſſioners thither, with a truſty and ſufficient Guard of two Regiaments of Horſe, which accordingly was this day done, and his Majeſty, with the Commiſſioners, gone to *New Market* but not through *Cambridge*. This buſineſſe taking up the whole time yeſterday, and it being neceſſary his Majeſty ſhould be diſpoſed of: before the place of Rendezvouze could well bee reſolved on, this morning at a Councell of Warre, it was judged inconvenient, and ſcarce poſſible to draw to a Rendezvouze to morrow early enough to diſpatch any thing; Therefore it is appointed on Thurſday morning at nine of the Clocke: and in regard of his Majeſties going to *New-Market*, it was thought fit by the Councell of Warre, that the place of Rendezvouze might bee altered from *New-Market*-Heath to *Triploe*-Heath, five miles from this Towne: I ſhall take care that your Commiſsioners if they come to *New-Market*, may have notice of this alteration from the former appointment, I remaine

Your moſt humble Servant,

Cambridge July 8. 1647.

T. FAIRFAX.

For the Honourable *William Lenthall* Eſquire, Speaker of the Honourable Houſe of *Commons*.

A Solemne Engagement of the Army, under the Command of his Excellency Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, Read, assented unto, and subscribed by all Officers and Souldiers of the severall Regiments, at the generall Randezvous, near *Newmarket*, on *June* 5. 1647.

WHereas upon the Petition intended and agreed upon in the Army, in *March* last, to have been presented to the Generall, for the obtaining of our due and necessary concernements as Souldiers; the Honourable House of *Commons* being unseasonably prepossessed with a Copie thereof, and (as by the sequell we suppose) with some strange misrepresentations of the carriage and intentions of the same, was induced to send down an Order for suppressing the Petition, and within two or three dayes after, upon further misinformation, and scandalous suggestions, of the like or worse nature, and by the indirect practise of some malicious and mischeivous persons (as we suppose) surprizing or otherwise abusing the *Parliament*. A Declaration was published in the name of both Houses, highly censuring the said Petition, and declaring the Petitioners, if they should proceed thereupon, no lesse then enemies to the State, and disturbers of the publick peace. And whereas at the same time and since, divers eminent Officers of the Army have been brought into question and trouble about the said Petition, whereby both they and the rest of the Officers were disabled, or discouraged for the time, from further acting or appearing therein on the souldiers behalfe; And whereas by the aforesaid proceedings and the effects thereof, the souldiers of this Army (finding themselves so stop't in their due, and regular way of making knowne their just greivances, and desires too, and by their Officers,) were enforced to an unusuall, (but in that case necessary) way of correspondence and agreement amongst themselves, to chuse out of the severall Troops and Companies severall men, and those out of their whole number, to chuse two or more for each Regiment, to act in

the name and behalfe of the whole ſouldiery of the reſpective Regiments Troops and Companies, in the proſecution of their rights and deſires in the ſaid Petition, as alſo of their juſt vindication and writing in reference to the aforeſaid proceedings upon and againſt the ſame, who have accordingly acted and done many things to thoſe ends, all which the ſouldiers did then approve as their owne Acts And whereas afterwards (upon the ſending downe of Field-Martiall *Skippon*, and thoſe other Officers of the Army that were Members of the Houſe of *Commons*, to quiet diſtempers in the Army, freſh hopes being conceived of having our deſires again admitted to be made known, and conſidered in a regular way, and without ſuch miſrepreſentations as formerly, the Officers and ſouldiers of the Army (except ſome few diſſenting Officers) did againe joyne in a repreſentation of their common grievances, and the Officers (except as before) did agree upon a Narrative accompt of the grounds, riſe, and growth of the diſcontents in the Army, and their proceedings in relation thereunto, with an overture of the beſt expedients, to remove or ſatisfie the ſame, both which were preſented to the ſame Members of the Houſe, and by them reported to the Houſe, and whereas the Parliament having thereupon voted, and ordered ſome particulars, only towards ſatisfaction of our grievances, hath ſince proceeded to certaine reſolutions of ſuddaine disbanding the Army by pieces, which reſolutions being taken, and to be executed before full or equall ſatisfaction given to the whole Army, in any of the grievances, before effectuall performance of that ſatisfaction in part, which the preceding Votes ſeemed to promiſe, as to ſome of the grievances, and before any conſideration at all of ſome others moſt materiall, (as by the reſult of a generall Counſel of Warre on Saturday, *May* 29. was in general declared, and is now more fully demonſtrated, in particular by a repreſentation thereupon, agreed unto by us: we all cannot but looke upon the ſame reſolutions of disbanding us in ſuch manner, as proceeding from the ſame malicious, and miſchievous Principles and intentions, and from the like indirect Practiſes of the ſame Perſons abuſing the *Parliament*, and is as the former proceedings againſt us before mentioned did, and not without carnall and bloudy purpoſes (for ſome of them have not ſtuck to declare or intimate) after the body of the Army ſhould be disbanded, or the ſouldiers divided from their Officers: then to queſtion, proceed againſt, and execute their malicious intentions upon all ſuch particular Officers, and ſouldiers in the Army, as had appeared to act in the Premiſes in the behalfe of the Army; and whereas upon a late Petition to the Generall from the Agitants, in behalfe of the ſouldiers (grounded upon the preceding conſiderations, relating

lating to the ſame reſolutions of disbanding the ſame generall Counſell of warre to prevent the danger, and inconveniences of thoſe diſturbings, or tumultuous actings, or confluences which the diſſatisfaction and Jealouſie thereupon alſo grounded, were like ſuddainely to have produced in the Army to adviſe the Generall, firſt to contract the Quarters of the Army, and then to draw the ſame to an orderly *Randezvous* for ſatisfaction of all, and that his Excellencie would immediately ſend up to move and deſire the Parliament to ſuſpend any preſent proceeding upon the ſaid Reſolution of disbanding, to reſume the Conſideration of the grievances, and deſires ſent up from the Army, and not to disband it in pieces before juſt and equall ſatisfaction given to the whole; And wheres ſome of the Regiments appointed for disbanding upon notice thereof, withdrawing themſelves from the Quarters adjacent to the appointed Randezvous, and drawing towards the Head Quarters; and the contracting their Quarters according to the ſaid advice of the Counſell of Warre.

Wee the Officers and Souldiers of ſeverall Regiments hereafter named, are now met at a generall Randezvous, and the Regiments appointed as aforeſaid to be disbanded, have not appeared, nor can appear; but are reſolved not to appear at the ſeverall and reſpective Randezvous, appointed as aforeſaid for their disbanding; and divers other things hath been done by ſeverall other parties, or Members of the Army, neceſſarily relating to the good and concernment of the whole in theſe affaires: Now for as much as we know not how far the malice, Injuſtice, and Tiranical Principles of our enemies, that have already prevailed ſo farre to abuſe the Parliament and the Army (as is afore mentioned) in the paſt proceedings againſt the Army, may further prevaile to the danger and prejudice of our ſelves, or any Officers, or Souldiers of the Army, or other perſons that have appeared to act any thing in behalfe of the Army. or how far the ſame may further prevaile to the danger or prejudice of the Kingdome in raiſing a new warre, or otherwiſe: Therefore for the better prevention of all ſuch dangers, prejudices, or other inconveniences that may enſue: and withall for better ſatisfaction to the Parliament and Kingdome, concerning our deſires of conferring to the Authority of the one, and providing the good and quiet of the other, in the preſent affairs of disbanding, and for a more aſſured way whereby, that affaires may come to a certaine iſſue, (to which purpoſe we herein humbly implore the preſent and continued aſſiſtance of God, the Righteous Judge of all) we the officers and ſouldiers of the Army ſubſcribing hereunto; do hereby declare, agree, and promiſe, to, and with each other, and to, and with the Parliament and Kingdome as followeth.

1. That

1. That wee ſhall chearfully and readily disband when thereunto required by the Parliament, or elſe ſhall many of us be willing (if deſired) to ingage in further ſervices either in *England* or *Ireland*, having firſt ſuch ſatisfaction to the Army in relation to our Grievances and deſires heretofore preſented, and ſuch ſecurity; That we of our ſelves (when disbanded, and in the condition of private men) or other the free-borne people of *England* (to whom the conſequence of our Caſe doth equally extend) ſhall not remaine ſubject to the like oppreſſion, injury or abuſe, as in the Premiſſes hath been attempted and put upon us while an Army by the ſame mens continuance in the ſame credit & power (eſpecially if as our Judges) who have in theſe paſt proceedings againſt the Army ſo far prevailed to abuſe the Parliament and us, and to endanger the Kingdom; and alſo ſuch ſecurity that we our ſelves, or any Member of this Army or others, who have appeared to act any thing in behalfe of the Army in relation to the premiſes before recited, ſhall not after disbanding be any way queſtioned, proſecuted, troubled, or prejudiced for any thing ſo acted, or for the entring into, or neceſſary proſecution of this neceſſary agreement; (we ſay) having firſt ſuch ſatisfaction and ſecurity in theſe things as ſhall be agreed unto by a Counſell to conſiſt of thoſe generall Officers of the Army (who have concurred with the Army in the Premiſes) with two Commiſſion Officers, and two Souldiers to be choſen for each Regiment, who have concurred, and ſhall concurre with us in the Premiſes and in this agreement; And by the major part of ſuch of them, who ſhal meet in Counſell for that purpoſe, when they ſhall be thereunto called by the Generall.

2. That without ſuch ſatisfaction and ſecurity, as aforeſaid, we ſhall not willingly disband, nor divide, nor ſuffer our ſelves to be disbanded or divided.

And whereas we find many ſtrange things ſuggeſted or ſuſpected to our great prejudice concerning dangerous Principles, intereſts and deſignes in this Army (as to the overthrow of Magiſtracy, the ſuppreſſion or hindering of Presbytery, the eſtabliſhment of Independent government, or upholding of a generall licentiouſneſſe in Religion under pretence of Liberty of Conſcience, and many ſuch things; we ſhall very ſhortly tender to the Parliament a Vindication of the Army from al ſuch ſcandals, to cleare our Principles in relation thereunto, and in the mean time we do diſavow & diſclaim al purpoſes or deſigns in our late or preſent proceedings, to advance or inſiſt upon any ſuch intereſt, neither would we (if we might and could) advance or ſet up any other particular party or intereſt in the Kingdome (though imagined never ſo much our owne) but ſhall much rather (as farre as may be within our ſpheare

or

or power) ſtudy to promote ſuch an eſtaliſhment of common and equall right and freedome to the whole, as all might equally pertake of, but thoſe that do by denying the ſame to others, or otherwiſe render themſelves incapable thereof.

An humble *Repreſentation* of the Diſſatisfaction of the Army, in relation to the late Reſolutions for ſo ſuddain Disbanding: ſhewing the particulars of their former grievances wherein they did remaine unſatisfied, and the Reaſons thereof.

Unanimouſly agreed upon and ſubſcribed by the Officers and Souldiers of the ſeverall Regiments, at the Rendezvous neer *New-Market*, on Friday and Saturday, June 4. and 5. Preſented to the Generall, to be by him humbly repreſented to the Parliament.

WHereas upon the Report made to the Houſe of Commons on Friday *May* 21. concerning the grievances of the Army, that Houſe was pleaſed to paſſe ſeverall Votes ſeeming to tend towards the ſatisfaction of the Army in ſome particulars: aud on the *Tueſday* following (*May* 25.) to paſſe divers Reſolutions upon a Report from the Committee at *Derby-Houſe* concerning the disbanding of the Foot of this Army each Regiment apart at ſeverall times and places: We humbly declare, that the ſaid Votes of *Friday* do come farre ſhort of ſatisfaction, (as to the ſaid grievances) or to the deſires propoſed by the Officers in the concluſion of their *Narrative*. And that the latter Votes of *Tueſday* importing a reſolution to disband the Army in part, before equall ſatisfaction be given to the whole in the greivances, or ſo much as any conſideration had of ſome others that are moſt materiall, and alſo before any effectuall performances of that ſatisfaction with the Votes of *Friday* ſeemed to promiſe as to ſome of the Greivances, we cannot but be much unſatisfyed and troubled at it, as in the particulars following it may appeare we have cauſe.

1. The

1. The proportion of but Eight weeks Arrears to be paid at disbanding, as it is unreasonably short of what is most due, and what we conceive may be paid, or might easily have been provided since the Parliament hath so long had the whole Kingdome cleared, all trading and commerce opened, vast summes of money brought in upon Delinquents, Compositions and otherwise, and great foundations of security in their hands, (besides those formerly ingaged for the *Scots*) And as it is but a mean reward for all our labours, hardships and hazards in the Kingdoms cause, and a very slender supply to carry us to our homes, in a condition sutable to the Parliaments honour and our successe, and much lesse to enable those that have left good trades or other wayes of livelihood, and suffered much in their trades or stocks, by so doing, to set up again in their former callings and conditions; so it is but little (if any thing) more then what hath been due to us since that time that we first went about to have petitioned for our Arrears, and so not to be accounted in satisfaction towards former Arrears, which the Petition was meant for.

2. In the Orders given for the stating of our Accounts, giving Debentures for our Arrears by the Committee of the Army, we find no consideration or regard had of our Arrears incurred in former Army or services, which to the most of us are much greater then those under the *New-Model*, intended to be stated by the Committee for the Army, (as the *Narrative* of the Officers,) printed by mistake under the name of their Declaration, did intimate before.

3. We cannot but consider, that (whatever the Officers, expectances upon Debentures may prove) the private Souldiers may well make little account of whatever part of his Arrears he receives not before disbanding, as the Reasons expresse in the *Narrative* do shew. And whereas we hear of some instruction past in an Ordinance for stating of Arrears, we understand that they direct 3. s. a week to be abated to Foot-Souldiers for Quarter, which being 6^{d}. or 8^{d} *per diem* above the rate they should have paid for themselves, if they had timely had Pay wherewithall; It seems very hard the poore Souldier should allow interest for the forbearance of his own due.

The like disproportion we find in the abatements to Serjeants of Foot for their Quarters: in the abatement for Quarters to Officers of Horse and Dragoons, we find one third part of the whole Pay to them due both for themselves and their Horses is to be defalked, though the full pay for their Horses is not allowed in the Account, unlesse they make it appeare by Musters that they kept their full numbers; and the third part of their full

full pay, amounting to the halfe or near the halfe of their preſent pay, ſeems an unreaſonable allowance for Quarters, eſpecially in the caſe of Captains and Field-Officers. We find alſo no proviſion made for private Souldiers of Horſe, or Foot, or any Officers in Commiſſion or not in Commiſſion, in relation to any Quarters diſcharged by them, but all ſuch are left abſolutely to abate the reſpective Rates for Quarters during their whole time whether they have paid Quarters for any part of the time or no, whereas we know aſſuredly and can make appeare, that all of them during their ſervice in this Army, (and moſt of them in their ſervice in the former Armyes) have really diſcharged their Quarters for a very great part of the time, and many of them for more time then by the proportion of pay received, they were bound to have done; having without reſpects to that many times paid freely, as farre as their money would hold out, partly out of deſire not to be burthenſome at all to the Countrey as farre as they could, and partly upon expectation (grounded on the many promiſes and often renewed, of conſtant pay for time to come) that mony would come in time to pay them up, and reimburſe them their full pay againe without defalcation for Quarters; we find it alſo provided, that no Trooper is capable of allowance or debenture for Arrears unleſſe he deliver in ſuch Horſe and Armes, with which he hath ſerved or a Certificate, what ſuch Horſe and Armes did not appertaine to the State, or elſe was loſt in actuall ſervice which extends to the totall taking away from them thoſe Horſe and Armes of the States, which they have uſed and preſerved in the Service, contrary to the favour allowed; and never (that we knew of) denied in the disbanding of any other Army: and if that being but a matter of favour, the horſe-men in this ſervice be thought unworthy of it, and muſt upon account for their Arrears, rebate for ſuch Horſe and Armes as upon disbanding they thought to have been given them, yet it ſeems hard that ſuch as cannot deliver in thoſe States Horſe and Armes, which at disbanding they ſo underſtood to be their owne, and ſo perhaps have ſold or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, ſhould for that loſe their whole Arrears, or be incapable of account or debenture for any part thereof.

Fourthly, The viſible ſecurity for what Arrears ſhould not be paid at disbanding (which the Votes of Friday, May 21. ſeeme to promiſe) as it ſtands propounded in the Votes of Tueſday May 25. appeares not to be either a ſecuritie ſufficient or to us viſible.

1. Becauſe that ſecurity of the Excize in Courſe (propoſed for the Arrears of private Souldiers and inferior Officers, is knowne to be already pre-ingaged for vaſt ſummes amounting to above a Million that are to take

take place before thoſe Arrears, nor do we know certainly that the Excize (which is yet but temporarie) will be continued for ſo long time as till our Arrears ſhall come out in courſe after the preceding ingagements ſatisfied.

2. Becauſe that ſecurity propoſed for Officers Arrears, *viz.* the profits ariſing out of Delinquents eſtates in the firſt Exception, (eſpecially being limited to ſuch as are not already diſpoſed of, it does not appear what they will amount unto, or what the pre-ingagements or pre-diſpoſures by the Parliament may be, or what incumbrances of Debts, or limitations of Eſtates (as they were in the hands of the Owners) may lie upon the ſame, none of which we would be any occaſion to defeat or avoid, ſo as to have the curſes and grudges of defrauded Creditors or ruined Families to lie upon us or our Poſterities.

3. Neither the one ſecurity nor the other are yet, for ought we find, or could well before the appointed times of disbanding, be ſo ſetled by Ordinance to the uſes propoſed (as the other Securities for monies borrowed by the Parliament have been) which we conceive requiſite to render the ſame indeed viſible ſecurity.

The two firſt of theſe Reaſons we ſhould not urge ſo much, if we did not ſee other matters of Security within the Kingdome that would be much more cleare, (as Cathedrals and their Revenues, Forreſt-Lands &c.)

5. The Ordinance voted to exempt from preſſing (1.) is not for ought we derſtand, brought in and paſſed before the appointed Disbanding. Next, by the Vote it ſeems not to intend the exempting of voluntier Horſe men from being preſt for Foot-ſervice. And laſtly, we underſtand not how it can be effectuall to particular Souldiers (when diſperſt about the Kingdome, and ſojourning or travelling where perhaps their former relation to this Army, or condition as Voluntiers in it may not be known, or not credited upon their words) unleſſe the Ordinance intended ſhall provide, that a teſtimoniall of their ſervice under the General's or their reſpective Field-Officers or Captains hands (which they might ever carry about, or keep by them,) ſhall be their ſufficient diſcharge from any Preſſe (if they ſhall fall under it.) And whereas ſuch Teſtimonials cannot eaſily be got by them after Disbanding; The ſaid Votes for ſo ſudden Disbanding, and at ſuch diſtances, do not mention or admit any thing of that kinde more then Paſſes from the Commiſſioners to carry them whom.

6. The Ordinance voted to give Apprentices the benefit of their time ſpent in the Parliaments ſervice, as alſo that for the maintenance of

of maimed Souldiers, and the Widowes and children of men ſlaine in the ſervice, were not brought in and paſſed before the appointed Disbandings, nor do we yet hear, that they yet are, though we hope they will be.

7. The Ordinance paſſed for Indempnity ſeems to make but ſlender proviſion for our quiet, eaſe, or ſafety in relation to things done in the War as Souldiers.

1. Becauſe the things it provides for throughout the Ordinance, compriſed only in theſe termes (*viz.*) *things done by vertue of any Ordinance of Parliament or for the ſervice and benefit of the Parliament*; We conceive, that upon every treſpaſſe, or other thing done in the War (which we may be queſtioned for) it will be very chargeable and difficult, either to derive a clear Authority for the ſame from Ordinance of Parliament, or to bring proofs ſufficient to make up ſuch a conſtructive concluſion, as that it was for the ſervice and benefit of the Parliament, eſpecially to do this ſo fully, as to meet with all the evaſions and eluſions of a ſubtle Lawyer, or to convince the ſences of a Countrey Jury, whom we know not by what rules or meaſure they may go in judging what was for the ſervice and benefit of the Parliament, or what not; perhaps ſome of them may be of that mind, that it had been for the ſervice and benefit of the Parliament, to have had no War at all, or to have had fewer or no ſuch Garriſons or Forces as ſome of us have been engaged in. In ſome, We cannot thinke it ſafe to bee left to the ſenſe or conſtruction of a Countrey Jury, concerning the exigencies of War, or duty of a Souldier upon ſo doubtfull an Iſſue; We ſhould rather thinke, that the old Iſſue, which (as we underſtand) ancient Laws have provided for in ſuch caſes, *viz.* (Whether the thing were done *tempore & loco belli*) was much more cleare and ſure; and an act or Ordinance of Oblivion for all treſpaſſes or other things ſo done by Souldiers in this War, would be moſt ſafe and ſatisfactory.

2. That the proviſion in the ſaid Ordinance now paſt for Reliefe, by Complaint to a Committee of Parliament at *London* (which ſeems to be meant for ſaving of charges to poor men) we doubt will prove a very remote helpe, and far more chargeable for a poor Souldier Impriſoned or Arreſted in the Countrey, then the former: And though we highly honor that Committee named in the Ordinance (for the major part of it) yet we confeſſe we ſhall be ſorry that our reliefe (if it may otherwiſe be provided for) ſhould be the occaſion of ſetting up more arbitrary Courts, then there are already, with ſo large a power of impriſoning any Freemen of *England*, as the Ordinance gives to that Committee, let the per-

ſons intruſted appeare at preſent never ſo juſt and faithfull, or though all that Committee were as good Patriots, as we hold the major part to be.

2. In the matter of Accompts, we are wholly left (as before) to the mercy of the Committee for Accompts, and their ſub-Committees, whoſe conſtitution (in moſt Counties,) being at leaſt of Neuters (diſaffected to the War, and conſequently to the Souldiery) and whoſe vaſt and Arbitrary power to vex, delay, fine and impriſon at their owne Pleaſure or judgement, any that they can bring within the compaſſe of Accomptants, and to proceed upon their own judgement of the default, to ſequeſter, ſell and diſpoſe of his Eſtate, as upon a Commiſſion of Bankrupt, (we confeſſe) we tremble to thinke of more then of any Enemy. And though we are as jealous as any to have all men brought to an Accompt, for what may clearly be accompted for (as Treaſurers, Keepers of ſtores, Sequeſtrators, or ſuch like Accomptants) yet we cannot but thinke it hard for us, or other the Parliament Souldiers, to be required to ſo ſtrict Accompts for all things received, taken and uſed in the War by our ſelves, or any under our command (though but temporarily upon a part) for many of which things neither we, nor any other that minded the publick ſervice, and have been engaged in hazardous ſervices, where many have loſt thoſe Accompts they did keep, can give or could keep ſo ſtrict Accompt, or for want of ſuch Accompt to be ſo cruelly vexed and proſecuted, even to utter undoing, as any man that's accomptable for any thing may be, and divers of the Parliaments moſt faithfull and active Servants in our condition have been before our eyes: And though we would not wiſh that any Souldiers or Officers who have by Plunder, or other Injury to the Countrey, abuſed the name of the Parliaments ſervice, and converted any thing they have taken or received to their owne private benefit or advantage, (more then for neceſſary ſubſiſtence or ſupplies) ſhould go away with it, in being exempted from Accompt; yet we cannot but thinke it reaſonable and neceſſary, that for thoſe many others that have not done ſo, but have imployed all faithfully for the publike ſervice, ſuch proviſion ſhould be made, as that what Armes, Ammunition, Horſes, Furniture, or other things received or taken by them, they could not keepe, or cannot give a cleare or diſtinct Accompt for, it ſhould be ſufficient for their diſcharge, if they make Oath that they have not imbezelled, or wittingly converted to their private benefit or advantage, any part thereof, more then what things, or to what value they do or ſhall (for ſaving of their Oath) charge upon themſelves in their Accompt.

We

We find another thing mainly neceſſary for our and other mens Indempnity (for which there is no proviſion at all made in this Ordinance) *viz.* That all Acts of Councels or Courts of War, either in cenſure or diſcharge of any perſon, for any cauſe ſubject to their Iudgement, and the Warrants of the General, or cheif Commander, for execution or remiſſion of ſuch cenſures, may be valid and good, both as to the Iuſtification of thoſe that have been imployed in execution of ſuch cenſures, and alſo the full and finall acquittall of the perſons ſo diſcharged or remitted,

Eigthly, Though thoſe Officers of the Army at ſeverall times ſent for, or ſend up to attend the Parliament as Delinquents, have been indeed, diſcharged (for which we render our thanks, and acknowledge the Parliaments Juſtice in the diſcharge) yet for men of ſuch credit and integrity to have their names brought ſo highly into publick queſtion or ſuſpition, and the cauſe not known, (which might make it imagined greater) to be kept long in attendance under that notion, and not obtaine by their daily ſolicitations to know their Accuſers or any Charge, and (for one of them) to be made a Priſoner, ſearched and ſent up ſo farre in a diſgraceful manner, without Authority (againſt the right both of a Souldier and Subject) and at laſt to be only diſmiſſed (without any word of Vindication or clearing) ſeems but a ſlender Reparation.

Ninthly, There hath yet been nothing declared by the Parliament (as in the Narration or Declaration of the Officers was deſired) to cleare us, as to our right of Petitioning, or to cleare the ſence and intention of the Parliament in their Order for ſuppreſſing the Petition, or the ground of their cenſure in the Declaration againſt it; though we thinke no man can deny the matter of the Petition to be juſt and Parliament-proceeding, ſince upon the ſeveral heads of it does imply as much, And if our Liberty of Petitioning for our duebe denied us now, and the attempting of it rendred ſuch a Crime (as by the ſaid Order and Declaration appears to be, while the ground or intention of them ſtands not explained otherwiſe) we cannot but expect the ſame or worſe hereafter, not only to our ſelves (when being diſbaned and diſperſed, we ſhall have the like occaſion to petition as private and ſingle men,) but alſo to all the Free-born People of the land in the like caſe; and ſo this preſident (if it ſtand good) would extend in the conſequence of it, to render all Souldiers under this Parliament, the worſt of ſlaves, and all ſubjects little better. And though there have been of late in other mens Caſes too many dangerous preſidents of ſuppreſſing Petitions, and puniſhing or cenſuring the Petitioners, yet (we thinke) few or none ſo full and clear againſt all juſt Liberties, as this in

our caſe, whoſe Petition was not, as many (that yet have been received with large thanks) without any foundation in reall grievances or dues, tending and ſerving meerly to declare the Petitioners opinions and inclinations in relation to matters of State (then in tranſaction, or intended to be put on the Parliament) nor yet ſubject to any of thoſe exceptions, which at other Petitions (ſeeming better grounded, more neceſſary or concerning then the former, and yet rejected) might be: But ours not medling with matters of State, with proceedings of Parliament, or any bodies concernements but our owne, tended but to obtaine our particular dues (often promiſed, dearly and fully earned, long forborne) and ſome of which (*viz.* the matter of indempnity) we could not (without danger of utter ruine) want after disbanding; and theſe but deſired in an humble and ſubmiſſive way, without any language, ſcandalous or offenſive, or any other particular exception (for matter or forme) that we have ever yet been told of, or could any way learne; ſo as though we are willing to beleeve the Parliament was miſinformed, abuſed or ſurprized in the buſineſſes (as the Narrative does expreſſe) yet we cannot hitherto underſtand, from whence ſuch proceedings againſt ſuch a Petition, or againſt us for it, could ariſe, except (in thoſe that moved and drew the Parliam. thereunto) from ſome principles of Malignants envy or diſlike againſt us, the Petitioners for the things God hath done by us, carrying them (above all other conſiderations of juſt or unjuſt, dangerous or ſafe) to this end, as the greateſt good, that this Army muſt not paſſe with that Reputation God had given it, but muſt (upon any occaſion that could be catched hold on) have a diſhonour put upon it, and by diſcontents and provocations be put into diſtemper, ſo as to do ſomething that might render it odious, or bring a blemiſh upon it.

Tenthly, The declaration yet ſtanding in force, and nothing publiſhed by the Parliament to cleare the Army from the cenſure it thereby lies under, there remains a brand of Ignominy upon this Army to poſterity: And thoſe Souldiers that have proceeded to act any thing in purſuance of their juſt deſires in that Petition, or in Repreſentation of their juſt Grievances thereupon; as alſo thoſe Officers that have any way concurred with, or countenanced, or not deſerted them therein, remain ſubject to queſtion, and to the higheſt cenſure that may be for ſo doing.

Eleventhly, were all other our greivances duly conſidered, yet nothing be done to the diſcovery or cenſure of thoſe that have wronged the Army, and abuſed the Parliament, to the procuring of ſuch proceedings againſt us, in relation to ſo juſt and innocent Petition, but that the

ſame

ſame perſons remaine ſtill in the ſame credit and power, we appeal to all reaſonable men, what hopes, either of right or ſafety (we when disbanded and diſperſed) or any private man, can hereafrer promiſe to himſelfe in the like caſe? Let every honeſt Engliſh man lay his hand on his heart, weigh our caſe, and make it his own (as in conſequence it is,) and then judge for us and himſelfe.

Firſt, We may confidently ſay; Never any private man had or can have any thing more clearly due to him, then what we went about to petition for; nor could ſeek it in a more regular, humble or inoffenſive way (as hath been ſhewed before:) Now for a private man petitioning for his right in ſuch a way, to be denied, or faile of his right (in Courts where Corruption ſways) is perhaps not rare; yet for ſuch a man to be debarred or interdicted before-hand from ſuing for his acknowledged right (we thinke) is not uſuall in Courts ſufficiently corrupt: But not only to be denied his right, and the liberty to Petition it, but withall by a cenſure, (no leſſe then Capital) to be expoſed to a forfeiture of Eſtate, Liberty, Life and all, for but going ſo to aske what he conceives, and the Court it ſelfe will not deny, to be his due, and this without ever asking or hearing, what he can ſay in his excuſe, would carry ſo high a face of Injuſtice, Oppreſſion and Tyranny, as we thinke is not eaſie to be exampled in the proceedings of the moſt corrupt and Arbitrary Courts, towards the meaneſt ſingle man. Now if we have found men of thoſe deſperate Principles, and confidence to attempt, and in that credit and power to carry on ſuch proceedings againſt an Army, (ſtanding then in full ſtrength, in reputation, and ſome little merit, alſo) and to engage the Authority of Parliament therein, whoſe preſent power hath, under God, been upheld, and but newly eſtabliſhed through that Army: What can we, or any honeſt man, expect hereafter, as private perſons, if the ſame men ſhall continue to be our Judges, or in the ſame credit and power, when we are disbanded (as now) we ſay, what good can be expected, or what ill may not be expected in any future caſe, that ſhall croſſe the pride, paſſions or intereſts of ſuch men, of whoſe unjuſt Principles, and deſperately tyrannicall Spirits, we have in this caſe had the moſt perfect taſte that can be imagined: We have both here and before plainly Remonſtrated our caſe in this particular, as it ſtands, appearing to thoſe that underſtand not upon what grounds, and in what manner ſuch things were carried in the Parliament, in relation to the Petition: We are ſtill willing to beleeve the Parliament hath been ſome way ſtrangely miſinformed, ſurprized, or otherwiſe abuſed in that buſineſſe (as was expreſſed before in that Narrative) We are ſtill tender of Parliament

Priviledges; but we ſhall yet hope and deſire, that the wiſedome of the Parliament would find how to diſingage the honour of the Parliament, from the deſperate Practiſes of ſuch Incendiaries, and cauſe them to be diſcovered and cenſured, ſo farre as may ſecure the Parliament from being again ſo abuſed, and both us and the Kingdome from the like or worſe Oppreſſions or Dangers by them, (which is the utmoſt ill we wiſh them:) And if herein our belief or hopes, from or concerning the Parliament, do fail us, we ſhall be ſorry; but yet the caſe and conſequence is ſtill as it is, or the more ſad to us and the Kingdome. And having in this particular expreſſed both the caſe and conſequence very plainly, we leave it at the Parliaments Door, until they ſhall be pleaſed to fix the blame on thoſe particular Perſons that have abuſed them herein, as before.

Twelfthly and laſtly, We find nothing as yet done, or thought of for Reparation or Vindication of the Army, in reference to the many Scandals caſt upon it, or to puniſh or diſcountenance the Authors and Publiſhers, though divers of them be ſufficiently known.

A *Declaration* or *Repreſentation* from his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Army under his Command: Humbly tendred to the Parliament concerning the Juſt and Fundamentall Rights and Liberties of themſelves and the Kingdom; With ſome humble Propoſals and Deſires. *June* 14. 1647.

THat we may no longer be the diſſatisfaction of our friends, the ſubject of our enemies malice (to worke jealouſies and miſrepreſentations upon) and the ſuſpition (if not aſtoniſhment) of many in the Kingdome, in our late or preſent tranſactions and conduct of buſineſſe; we ſhall in all faithfulneſſe and clearneſſe profeſſe and declare unto you, theſe things which have of late protracted and hindered our diſbanding, the preſent greivances which poſſeſſe our Army, and are yet unremedied; with our

our desires, as to the compleat settlement of the Liberties and peace of the Kingdome which is that blessing of God, then which (of all worldly things,) nothing is more deare unto us, or more precious in our thoughts, we having hitherto thought all our present enjoyments,(whether of life or livelihood, or neareſt relations) a price but sufficient to the purchase of so rich a blessing, that we, and all the Freeborne people of this Nation may sit downe in quiet under our Vines, and under the glorious administration of Justice and Righteousnesse, and in full possession of those fundamentall Rights and Liberties, without which we can have little hopes, (as to humane considerations) to enjoy either any comforts of life, or so much as life it selfe; but at the pleasures of some men, ruling meerly acording to will and power.

It cannot be unknowne what hath passed betwixt the Parliament and Army, as to the service of *Ireland*; by all which, together with the late proceedings against the Army, in relation to their Petition and grievances all men may judge, what hath hindred the Army from a ready engagement in that service, and without further accompt or Apology as to that particular, then what those passages and proceedings themselves (already made publick) do afford, we do appeale to your selves whether those courses, to which the Parliament hath (by the designes and practice of some) been drawn, have rationally tended, to induce a chearfull and unanimous undertaking of the Army to that service, or rather to breake and pull the Army in peeces with discontent and dishonour, and to put such dis-obligations, and provocations upon it, as might drive it into distemper, and indeed discourage both this Army, and other Souldiers from any further engagement in the Parliaments service. And we wish all men would (with us) upon the whole carriage, seriously consider, whether (in the intentions of those who have by false informations and mis-representations put the Parliament upon such wayes) the timely and effectuall relieſe of *Ireland* seem really to have been intended, or rather with the breaking or disbanding of this Army,) to draw together or raise such other forces, and of such a temper as might serve to some desperate and destructive designes in *England*; For which (besides the probable suspitions from their carriage of the businesse) wee have beforehand in the transaction thereof had more then hints of such a designe by clear expressions to that purpose, from many of those Officers of the Army, that have been perswaded, and appeared most forward to engage as for *Ireland* on the termes proposed: And that such a designe hath all along been driven, seemes now too evident by the present disposing of those Forces that have been engaged for *Ireland*, by the endeavours of some

to

to gaine a power from the Parliament of ordering thoſe Forces for ſome ſervice in *England*, and by the private liſtings of men for ſervice here, without any publike authority of Parliament. And (all this) by the ſame perſons who have all along appeared moſt active and violent in the late proceedings againſt the Army.

As to the juſt Diſcontents and Diſſatisfactions of the Army in relation to their Grievances, and their Non-compliance to the late Orderers for ſudden Disbanding by peece-meale, before more full and equall ſatisfaction were given to the whole,) we deſire you to look back to the Papers already publiſhed of the grievances themſelves, the *Narrative* of the Officers, and to the later Papers from the generall Counſell of War at *Bury*, and the late generall Randezvous neer *New-Market*; And, we thinke, your late reſuming the conſideration of thoſe things, as to a further ſatisfaction, doth much juſtifie the deſires and proceedings of the Army, in thoſe paſt particulars hitherto.

And though, had we 'upon our firſt addreſſes, for our undoubted rights and dues' found a free and candid reception, with a juſt conſideration and a reaſonable ſatisfaction, or at leaſt a free Anſwer therein, we ſhould have been eaſily perſwaded to have abated or forborn much of our dues, and not to have enquired into or conſidered, ſo farre as we have, either the poſſibilities there are for more preſent ſatisfaction of Arrears, or the credit of future Securiries propoſed: yet ſince upon theſe former Addreſſes we have found ſuch hard dealing as in the ſaid Papers is ſet forth, and thoſe additionall, though hitherto but partial, ſatisfactions, comming ſo hardly as they have; we find no obliging reaſons, in the leaſt, to decline or recede from what's our due, but rather ſtill to adhere unto our deſires of full and equall ſatisfaction in all the things mentioned in the aforeſaid Papers; not only in behalfe of our ſelves and the Army, but alſo of the whole Souldiery throughout the Kingdome, who have concurred or ſhall concurre with us in the ſame deſires. And to all our former Deſires as Souldiers we cannot but adde this, (wherein we find our ſelves ſo neerly concerned in point of Juſtice and reputation) That more care and a ſtricter courſe may be taken for making good, all Articles granted upon Surrenders, according to the true intent and meaning of them; as alſo for remedy and reparation, in caſe of any breach, and this without thoſe delays which divers have found as prejudiciall to them, or more then if they had been totally denied the performance of them.

Nor will it now (we hope) ſeem ſtrange or unreaſonable to rationall and honeſt men, who conſider the conſequence of our preſent caſe, to their owne

own and the Kingdomes, (as well as our) future concernements in point of Right, Freedome, Peace and ſafety, (if from a deep ſenſe of the high conſequence of our preſent caſe, both to our ſelves (in future) and all other people) we ſhall, before disbanding, proceed in our owne and the Kingdoms behalfe, to propound and plead for ſome proviſion for our and the Kingdoms ſatisfaction and future ſecurity, in relation to thoſe things, eſpecially conſidering that we were not a meer mercenary Army hired to ſerve any Arbitrary power of a State, but called forth and conjured by the ſeverall Declarations of Parliament, to the defence of our owne and the peoples juſt Rights and Liberties; and ſo we took up Armes in judgement and conſcience to thoſe ends, and have ſo continued them, and are reſolved according to your firſt juſt deſires in your Declarations, and ſuch principles as we have received from your frequent Informations, and our own common ſenſe, concerning thoſe our fundamental rights and liberties, to aſſert and vindicate the juſt power and rights of this Kingdome in Parliament for thoſe common ends premiſed againſt all arbitrary power, violence and oppreſſion, and againſt all particular parties or intereſts whatſoever. The ſaid Declarations ſtill directing us to the equitable ſenſe of all Laws and Conſtitutions, as diſpenſing with the very letter of the ſame, and being ſupreme to it, when the ſafety and preſervation of all is concerned; And aſſuring us that all Authority is fundamentally ſeated in the Office, and but miniſterially in the Perſons. Neither do or will theſe our proceedings (as we are fully and in conſcience perſwaded) amount to any thing not warrantable before God and men; being, thus far, much ſhort of the common proceedings in other Nations, to things of an higher nature then we have yet appeared to; and we cannot but be ſenſible of the great complaints that have been made to us generally in the Kingdome from the people where we march, of Arbitrarineſſe and Injuſtice, to their great and inſupportable oppreſſions.

And truly ſuch Kingdomes as have according both to the law of Nature and Nations appeared to the vindication and defence of their juſt Rights and Liberties, have proceeded much higher, as our brethren of *Scotland*, who in the firſt beginning of theſe late differences aſſociated in Covenant, from the very ſame grounds and principles (having no viſible form, either of Parliament or King to countenance them) And as they were therein juſtified and protected by their own and this Kingdome alſo, ſo we juſtly ſhall expect to be.

We need not mention the States of the Netherlands, the Portugals, and others, all proceeding upon the ſame Principles of right and free-

dome; And accordingly the Parliament hath declared it no reſiſting of Magiſtracy, to ſide with the juſt principles and law of nature and Nations, being that law upon which we have aſſiſted you, and that the ſouldiery may lawfully hold the hands of the Generall who will turne his Cannon againſt his Army on purpoſe to deſtroy them, the Seamen the hands of that Pilot, who wilfully runs the Ship upon a rock, (as our Brethren of *Scotland* argued:) And ſuch were the proceedings of our Anceſtors of famous memory, to the purchaſing of ſuch Rights and Liberties, as they have enjoyed through the price of their bloud, and we (both by that and the later bloud of our deare friends, and fellow Souldiers with the hazard of our own, do now lay claim unto.

Nor is that ſupreme end, the glory of God, wanting in theſe caſes, to ſet a price upon all ſuch proceedings of righteouſneſſe and juſtice, it being one witneſſe of God in the world, to carry on a Teſtimony againſt the injuſtice and unrighteouſneſſe of men, and againſt the miſcarriage of Governments, when corrupted or declining from their Primitive and Originall glory.

Theſe things we mention, but to compare proceedings, and to ſhow that we are ſo much the more juſtifiable, and warranted, in what we do, by how much we come ſhort of that height and meaſure of proceedings, which the people in free Kingdomes and Nations have formerly practiſed.

Now having thus farre cleared our way in this buſineſſe, we ſhall proceed to propound ſuch things as we do humbly deſire for the ſetling and ſecuring of our owne and the Kingdomes common right, freedome, peace, and ſafety as followeth.

1. That the Houſes may be ſpeedily purged of ſuch Members as for their delinquency or for Corruptions, or abuſe to the State or undue Elections ought not to ſit there, whereof the late Elections in *Cornwall*, *Wales*, and other parts of the Kingdome afford too many examples, to the great prejudice of the peoples freedome in the ſaid Elections.

2. That thoſe perſons, who have, in the late unjuſt and high proceedings againſt the Army appeared to have the wil, the confidence, credit and power, to abuſe the Parliament and the Army, and endanger the Kingdome in carrying on ſuch things againſt us (while an Army, may be ſome way ſpeedily diſabled from doing the like or worſe to us) when disbanded and diſperſt, and in the condition of private men) or to other the free-born people of *England* in the ſame condition with us, and that for that purpoſe the ſame perſons may not continue in the ſame power (eſpecially as our and the Kingdome Judges in the higheſt truſt) but may be made incapable thereof for the future.

And

And if it be queſtioned who theſe are, we thought not fit particularly to name them in this our Repreſentation to you, but ſhall very ſpeedily give in their names; and before long ſhall offer what we have to ſay againſt them to your Commiſſioners, wherein we hope ſo to carry our ſelves, as that the World ſhall ſee we aime at nothing of private revenge and animoſities, but that juſtice may have a free courſe, and the Kingdome be eaſed, and ſecured by diſinabling ſuch men (at leaſt) from places of Judicature, who deſiring to advantage, and ſet up themſelves and their party in a generall confuſion, have endeavoured to put the Kingdome into a new flame of war, then which nothing is more abhorrent to us.

But becauſe neither the granting of this alone would be ſufficient to ſecure our own and the Kingdoms rights, liberties, and ſafety, either for the preſent age or poſterity; nor would our Propoſals of this ſingly be free from the ſcandall and appearance of faction or deſignes only to weaken one Party (under the notion of unjuſt or oppreſſive) that we may advance another (which may be imagined more our own) We therefore declare, That indeed we cannot but wiſh, that ſuch men, and ſuch onely, might be preferred to the great power and truſt of the Common-wealth, as are approved, at leaſt for morall righteouſneſſe; and of ſuch we cannot but in our wiſhes preferre thoſe, that appeare acted thereunto by a principle of Conſcience and Religion in them. And accordingly we doe and ever ſhall bleſſe God for thoſe many ſuch Worthies, who, through his providence have been choſen into this Parliament; And, to ſuch mens endeavours (under God) we cannot but attribute that Vindication, (in part) of the peoples Rights and Liberties, and thoſe beginnings of a juſt Reformation, which the firſt proceedings of this Parliam. appeared to have driven at, and tended to, though of late obſtructed, or rather diverted to other ends and intereſt by the prevailing of other perſons of other principles and conditions.

But yet we are ſo far from deſigning, or complying to have an abſolute or Arbitrary power fixed or ſetled for continuance, in any perſons whatſoever, as that (if we might be ſure to obtain it) we canot wiſh to have it ſo in the perſons of any, whom we could moſt confide in, or who ſhould appear moſt of our own opinions and principles, or whom we might have moſt perſonall aſſurance of, or intereſt in, but we doe, and ſhall much rather wiſh, that the Authority of this Kingdome in Parliaments (rightly conſtituted, that is, freely, equally and ſucceſſively choſen, according to its originall intention) may ever ſtand and have its courſe. And therefore we ſhall apply our deſires, chiefly to ſuch things, as (by having Parliaments ſetled in ſuch a right Conſtitution) may give moſt hopes of Juſtice and Righte-

ouſneſſe, to flow downe, equally to all, in that its ancient Channell, without any Overtures, tending either to overthrow, that foundation of Order and Governement in this Kingdome, or to ingroſſe that power for perpetuity into the hands of any particular perſons, or party whatoever.

And for that purpoſe, though (as we have found it doubted by many men, minding ſincerely the publick good, but not weighing ſo fully all conſequences of things) it may and is not unlike to prove, that, upon the ending of this Parliament, and the Election of New, the Conſtitution of ſucceeding Parliaments, (as to the perſons Elected) may prove for the worſe many wayes; yet ſince neither in the preſent purging of this Parliament, nor in the Election of New, we cannot promiſe to our ſelves, or the Kingdome, an aſſurance of Juſtice, or other poſitive good from the hands of men, but thoſe who for preſent appeare moſt righteous and moſt for common good (having an unlimited power fixed in them during life or pleaſure) in time, may become corrupt, or ſettle into parties, or factions; or, on the other ſide, in caſe of new Elections, thoſe that ſhould ſo ſucceed, may prove as bad or worſe then the former. We therefore humbly conceive that, (of two inconveniences the leſſe being to be choſen) the maine thing to be intended in this caſe (and beyond which humane providence cannot reach, as to any aſſurance of poſitive good) ſeemes to be this, *viz.* to provide, that however unjuſt or corrupt the perſons of Parliament-men, in preſent or future may prove; or whatever ill they may do to particular parties (or to the whole in particular things,) during their reſpective terms, or periods, yet they ſhall not have the temptation or advantage of an unlimited power fixt in them during their owne pleaſures, whereby to perpetuate injuſtice and oppreſſion upon any (without end or remedy,) or to advance and uphold any one particular party, faction or intereſt whatſoever, to the oppreſſion or prejudice of the Communitie, and the enſlaving of the Kingdome, unto all poſterity, but that the people may have an equall hope, or poſſibility, if they have made an ill choice at one time, to mend it in another; and the members of the Houſe themſelves may be in a capacity, to taſt of ſubjection as well as rule, and may ſo be inclined to conſider of other mens caſes, as what may come to be their owne. This we ſpeak of, in relation to the Houſe of *Commons*, as being entruſted, on the peoples behalfe, for their intereſt in that great and ſupreame power of the Commonwealth, (*viz.* the Legiſlative power, with the power of finall judgement,) which being, in its owne nature, ſo arbitrary, and in a manner unlimited, (unleſſe in point of time) is moſt unfit and dangerous (as to the peoples intereſt)

intereſt) to be fixt in the perſons of the ſame men during life, or their owne pleaſures. Neither by the originall Conſtitution of this State, was it, or ought it to continue ſo, nor does it (where ever it is, and continues ſo) render that State any better then a meere Tyranny) or the people ſubjected to it, any better then Vaſſals: But in all States, where there is any face of common freedome, and particularly in this State of *England* (as is moſt evident, both by many poſitive Lawes, and ancient conſtant cuſtome) the people have a right to new and ſucceſſive Elections unto that great and ſupreme truſt, at certaine periods of time, which is ſo eſſentiall and fundamentall to their freedome, as it is, cannot, or ought not to be denied them, or with-held from them, and without which the Houſe of Commons is of very little concernment to the intereſt of the Commons of *England*. Yet in this we would not be miſ-underſtood, in the leaſt, to blame thoſe Worthies of both Houſes, whoſe zeale to vindicate the Liberties of this Nation, did procure that Act for continuance of this Parliament; whereby it was ſecured from being diſſolved at the Kings pleaſure, (as former Parliaments had been) or reduced to ſuch a certainty, as might enable them the better to aſſert and vindicate the Liberties of this Nation, (immediatly before ſo highly invaded, and then alſo ſo much endangered.) And theſe we take to be the principall ends and grounds, for which, in that exigency of time and affaires, it was procured, and to which we acknowledge it hath happily been made uſe of; but we cannot thinke it was by thoſe Worthies intended, or ought to be made uſe of to the perpetuating of thai ſupreme truſt and power in the perſons of any during their owne pleaſures, or to the debarring of the people from their right of Elections (totally new) when thoſe dangers or exigencies were paſt, and the affaires and ſafety of the Common-wealth would admit of ſuch a change.

Having thus cleared our Grounds and Intentions (as we hope) from all ſcruples and miſunderſtandings, in what followes we ſhall proceed further to propoſe what we humbly deſire for the ſetling and ſecuring of our owne and the Kingdomes Rights and Liberties (through the bleſſing of God) to poſterity; and therefore, upon all the Grounds premiſed, we further humbly deſire as followeth;

3. That ſome determinate period of time may be ſet for the continuance of this and future Parliaments, beyond which none ſhall continue, and upon which new Writs may of courſe iſſue out, and new Elections ſucceſſively take place according to the intent of the Bill for Trienniall Parliaments.

And

And herein we would not be misunderstood to desire a present or suddaine dissolution of this Parliament, but only (as is expreſt before) that some certaine period may be set for the determining of it, so as it may not remaine (as now) continuable for ever, or during the pleasure of the present Members; And we should desire that the Period to be now set for ending this Parliament, may be such as may give sufficient time for provision of what is wanting and necessary to be passed in point of just Reformation, and for further securing the Rights and Liberties, and setling the peace of the Kingdome. In Order to which we further humbly offer.

4. That secure provisions may be made for the continuance of future Parliaments, so as they may not be adjournable or dissolveable at the Kings pleasure, or any other wayes then by their owne consent during their respective periods, but at those periods each Parliaments to determine of course as before. This we desire may be now provided for (if it may be) so as to put it out of all dispute, for future, though we thinke of right, it ought not to have been otherwise before.

And thus a firme foundation being laid in the authority and constitution of Parliaments for the hopes, at least, of common and equall right and freedome to our selves and all the free-born people of this Land; we shall for our parts freely and chearfully commit our stock or share of interest in this Kingdome, into this common bottome of Parliaments, and though it may (for our particulars) go ill with us in one Voyage, yet we shall thus hope (if right be with us) to fare better in another.

These things we desire may be provided for, by Bill or Ordinance of Parliament to which the Royall assent may be desired: when his Majesty in these things, and what else shall be proposed by the Parliament, necessary for securing the Rights and Liberties of the people, and for setling the *Militia* and peace of the Kingdome, shall have given his concurrence to put them past dispute. We shall then desire that the Rights of his Majestie and his Posterity may be considered of, and setled in all things so farre as may consist with the Right and Freedome of the Subject, and with the security of the same for future.

5. We desire, that the right and freedome of the People, to represent to the Parliament by way of humble Petition, their grievances (in such things as cannot otherwise be remedied then by Parliament) may be cleared and vindicated, that all such grievances of the people may be freely received and admitted into consideration, and put into an equitable and speedy way, to be heard, examined, and redressed (if they appeare reall)

reall) and that in ſuch things for which men have remedy by law, they may be freely left to the benefit of law, and the regulated courſe of Juſtice, without interruption or check from the Parliament, except in caſe of things done upon the exigency of Warre, or for the ſervice and benefit of the Parliament and Kingdome in relation to the Warre, or otherwiſe in due purſuance and execution of Ordinances or Orders of Parliament,

More particularly (under this head) we cannot but deſire, that all ſuch as are impriſoned, for any pretended miſdemeanor, may be put into a ſpeedy way for a juſt hearing and triall, and ſuch as ſhall appeare to have been unjuſtly and unduly impriſoned, may (with their liberty) have ſome reaſonable reparation according to their ſufferings, and the demerit of their oppreſſors.

6. That the large powers, given to the Committees or Deputy Lieutenants during the late times of warre and diſtraction, may be ſpeedily taken into conſideration, That ſuch of theſe powers as appeare not neceſſary to be continued, may be taken away, and ſuch of them as are neceſſary may be put into a regulated way, and left to as little Arbitrarineſſe, as the nature and neceſſity of the things wherein they are converſant will beare.

7. We could wiſh that the Kingdome might both be righted and pubbickly ſatisfied in point of accounts, for the vaſt ſummes that have beene levied and paid, as alſo in divers other things wherin the Common-wealth may be conceived to have beene wronged or abuſed; But we are loath to preſſe any thing, that may tend to lengthen out further diſputes or conteſtations, but rather ſuch as may tend to a ſpeedy and generall compoſure, and quieting of mens minds, in order to Peace, for which purpoſe we further propoſe.

8. That (publick Iuſtice being firſt ſatisfied by ſome few examples to poſterity out of the worſt of excepted perſons, and other Delinquents having paſt their Compoſitions) ſome courſe may be taken (by a generall Act of Oblivion or otherwiſe) whereby the ſeeds of future Warre, or ſewds, either to the preſent age, or poſterity, may the better be taken away, by eaſing that ſence of preſent, and ſatisfying thoſe feares, of future Ruine or Vndoing, to perſons or families, which may drive men into any deſparate wayes for ſelfe-preſervation or remedy, and by taking away the private remembrances and diſtinction of parties, as farre as may ſtand with ſafety to the rights and liberties we have hitherto fought for.

There are (beſides theſe) many particular things which we could wiſh to be done, and ſome to be undone, all, in order ſtill to the ſame ends,

of common right; freedome, peace, and ſafety. But theſe propoſals aforegoing, being the principall things we bottome and inſiſt upon, we ſhall (as we have ſaid before) for our parts acquieſce for other particulars in the Wiſedome and Iuſtice of Parliaments. And whereas it hath been ſuggeſted or ſuſpected, that in our late, or preſent proceedings, our deſign is to overthrow *Presbytery*, or hinder the ſettlement thereof, and to have the *Independent* governement ſet up, we do clearly diſclaime, and diſavow any ſuch deſigne; We onely deſire that according to the Declarations (promiſing a proviſion for tender conſciences) there may ſome effectuall courſe be taken according to the intent thereof, and that ſuch, who, upon conſcientious grounds may differ from the eſtabliſhed formes, may not (for that) be debarred from the common Rights, Liberties, or Benefits belonging equally to all, as men and Members of the Commonwealth, while they live ſoberly, honeſtly, and inoffenſively towards others, and peacefully and faithfully towards the State.

We have thus freely and clearely declared the depth and bottome of our hearts and deſires in order to the Rights, Liberties and peace of the Kingdome, wherein we appeale to all men, whether we ſeek any thing of advantage to our ſelves, or any particular party whatever, to the prejudice of the whole, and whether the things we wiſh and ſeek, do not equally concerne and conduce to the good of others in common with our ſelves, according to the ſincerity of our deſires and intentions (wherein as we have already found the concurrent ſence of the People in divers Counties by their Petitions to the Generall, expreſſing their deepe repreſentment of theſe things, and preſſing us to ſtand for the Intereſt of the Kingdome therein, ſo, we ſhall wiſh and expect to find the unanimous concurrence of all others, who are equally concerned with us in theſe things, and wiſh well to the publick. And ſo truſting in the mercy and goodneſſe of God to paſſe by and helpe any failings or infirmities of ours, in the carriage or proceedings hereupon,) we ſhall humbly caſt our ſelves and the buſineſſe upon his good pleaſure, depending only on his preſence and bleſſing for an happy iſſue to the peace and good of this poore Kingdome, in the accompliſhment whereof, we deſire and hope, that God will make you bleſſed inſtruments.

June 14. 1647.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, *with the Officers and Souldiery of his Army,*

Signed,

John Ruſhworth *Secretary.*

A *Charge* delivered in the name of the *Army* under the Command of his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Unto the Commiſſioners of Parliament with the Army, at S. *Albans* June 14. 1647. and by them ſent up to the Parliament, againſt ſeverall Members of the Honorable Houſe of Commons.

Alſo a Paper delivered to the ſaid Commiſſioners of Parliament, *June* 15. from his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Army under his Command, of ſome farther humble Propoſals and Deſires to the Honorable Houſes of PARLIAMENT.

Denzil Hollis Eſquire, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, *Knights*; Major General *Maſſey*, Mr. *Glyn* Recorder of *London*, Colonel *Walter Long*, Colonel *Edward Harley*, and *Anthony Nichol* Eſquire, Members of the Houſe of Commons, joyntly or ſeverally as followeth.

FIrſt, That contrary to the truſt repoſed in them, the perſons above named, Members of the Houſe of Commons, have joyntly or ſeverally invaded, infringed or indeavoured to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of this Nation, in Arbitrary, violent or oppreſſive wayes (and in this caſe where no pretence was, or could be of the Exigence of War, or other neceſſity which might juſtifie or excuſe the ſame;) and they have likewiſe endeavoured by indirect and corrupt practiſes to delay and obſtruct Juſtice, to the great damage and prejudice of divers of the poor Commoners of *England*, petitioning for the ſame.

2. That this Army being untill the middle of *March* laſt, in a quiet and orderly condition and poſture, free from any colour or appearance of diſtemper or diſorder, or from offence to any, and ready (upon reaſonable ſatisfaction in their neceſſary dues for ſervice paſt) either quietly

to have disbanded, or elſe to have engaged in the ſervice of *Ireland*. The perſons above named have jointly or ſeverally indeavored by falſe informations, miſrepreſentations, or ſcandalous ſuggeſtions againſt the Army; to beget miſunderſtandings, prejudices, or jealouſies in the Parliament againſt their Army; and by deluding, ſurprizing, or otherwiſe abuſing the Parliament, to engage the Authority of Parliament to ſuch proceedings, as to put inſufferable injuries, abuſes, and provocations upon the Army, whereby to provoke and put the Army into a diſtemper, and to diſoblige and diſcourage the ſame from any further ingagement in the Parliament ſervice: By all which, and other the like particulars and proceedings of theirs the Peace of this Kingdome hath been eminently endangered, and the relief of *Ireland* retarded.

3. That whereas the Parliament might otherwiſe have had out of this Army an intire force, and anſwerable to their proportion deſigned to have engaged for *Ireland* as aforeſaid, under their old officers and conduct; the perſons above named for advancement of their owne ends, faction, and deſigne to the prejudice of the Publike, have joyntly or ſeverally, under pretence of the ſervice of *Ireland*, endeavoured by ſuch evill practiſes as before, to break and pull this Army in peeces, to the weakning of the power, and indangering of the ſafety of the Parliament and Kingdome; and have likewiſe endeavoured to put the Parliament and Kingdome, to the trouble, hazard, delay, and vaſt expence of raiſing a new force for that ſervice.

4. That with the breaking of this Army, as aforeſaid, they have in the like manner indeavoured under the pretence of the ſervice of *Ireland*, to raiſe a new force as before, to advance and carry on deſparate deſignes of their owne in *England*, to the prejudice of the Parliament and Publicke: and in purſuance of the ſame have endeavored to divert the forces ingaged as for *Ireland*, and unto ſuch their purpoſe as aforeſaid here in *England*; and have in like manner endeavored to have gained a power from the Parliament for themſelves, or ſome of them, of diverting and miſimploying thoſe forces aforeſaid, and to raiſe new forces under pretence to guard the Parliament, and (not having obtained that) have in like manner endeavoured privately to liſt and engage Officers and Souldiers, or procure them to be liſted and engaged without Authority of Parliament, for the raiſing of and imbroiling this Kingdome in a new and bloody War, and to interrupt, and hinder the ſetling and ſecuring the Rights, Liberties, and peace of the Kingdome; and for the ſetling, upholding, and protecting of themſelves and their accomplices, in their unjuſt, oppreſſive, and Factious deſignes and proceedings.

5. That

5. That they have jointly or ſeverally invited, encouraged, abetted or countenanced divers Reformadoes, and other officers and Souldiers tumultuouſly and violently to gather together at *Weſtminſter*, to affright and aſſault the Members of Parliament, in paſſage to and from the Houſe, to offer violence to the Houſe it ſelfe, and by ſuch violence, outrages and threats, to awe and inforce the Parliament.

The ſeverall Heads of Charge, the Army will by ſuch Solicitors as they ſhall appoint (when the Houſe of Commons ſhall admit thereof) make good in particulars each Head againſt ſome of the perſons, and ſome one Head or more againſt each of the perſons; and ſhall ſhortly give in the ſeverall particulars againſt each perſon reſpectively, which ſhall be made good by proofs; the Army deſiring to ſave and reſerve to themſelves the liberty of exhibiting any farther Charge againſt all or any of the ſaid perſons.

A Paper delivered to the Right Honorable Commiſſioners of Parliament now with the Army at S. *Albans*, *June* 15. 1647. From his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Army vnder his Command.

Shewing,

I. THat in purſuance of the Repreſentation delivered in, we have prepared the Heads of a Charge againſt divers perſons, Members of the Houſe of Commons (to whom many paſſages in the ſaid Repreſentation do relate) which we have delivered in to be ſpeeded to the Parliament, and ſhall (when the Parliament ſhall have admitted thereof) appoint fit perſons to our and the Kingdomes behalfs to proſecute and make good the ſame.

II. That if the Parliament ſhall be pleaſed to admit theſe things into Debate and Conſideration at the deſire of the Army, in behalf of themſelves and the Kingdome, and to proceed thereupon for a generall ſatiſfaction therein; we ſhall then deſire,

1. That the perſons impeached in the ſaid Charge may be forthwith ſuſpended from ſitting in the Houſe, without which we cannot reaſonably expect ſuch a proceeding upon any the things we have propoſed, as may probably bring the ſame to an happy or timely iſſue to the Kingdom

or our ſelves, or as may prevent the preſent Deſignes and practiſes ſo imminently indangering the Peace of this Nation, if thoſe ſame perſons (who have notoriouſly appeared moſt active in all the late proceedings, to the prejudice and provocation of the Army, and hazarding thus farre the Peace of the Kingdom) ſhall continue in the ſame power Judges of thoſe things relating to the Armies ſatisfaction, and peace of the Kingdom.

2. That there may be at leaſt a months pay immediately ſent down to the Army for a preſent ſupply, out of which the Army ſhall pay fourteen dayes quarter for time to come, and the other Fourteen dayes pay ſhall be accompted as part of Arrears. And to this we muſt deſire a preſent Reſolution to be with us on Thurſday next by noon at fartheſt.

3. That if the Officers and Souldiers of the Army who have engaged for *Ireland*, or thoſe who have deſerted the Army and come to *London*, have ſince then received more then a Moneths pay, there may be ſo much more money ſent downe to the Army (above the Moneths pay aforementioned) as make up that Moneths pay to the Army equall to what ſuch Officers and Souldiers have ſo received at *London* or elſewhere.

4. That no Officers or Souldiers who have deſerted the Army ſhall have any more paid them, as for Arrears, untill the reſt of the Army ſhall firſt be ſatisfied in point of their Arrears.

5. Whereas there have been ſeverall deſigns and Endeavours, without Authority from the Parliament, to raiſe and liſt new Forces within this Kingdome: to draw together the Forces engaged for *Ireland*, and march them towards *London*, and other ſecret practices to engage the Kingdom in a ſecond War; We further deſire, that during the Debates and Tranſaction of this buſineſſe betwixt the Parliament and the Army, the Parliament would not ſuffer any new Forces to be raiſed within this Kingdome, or any Forces to be invited or admitted out of any other Kingdome to this, or any thing elſe to be done, that may carry the face of a new War, or of preparations thereunto, which may endanger or interrupt the preſent proceeding to the ſettlement of the Liberties and peace of this Kingdom.

6. That the Parliament would be pleaſed (without delay to put the things contained in our ſeverall Repreſentations and Papers already given in, into a ſpeedy way of reſolution and diſpatch. The preſent poſture and condition of the Kingdome and Army, As alſo of his Majeſtie himſelfe not admitting delays.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Tho. Fairfax *and Souldiers of the Army under his Command.*

S. Albans, June 17. 1647. Signed by me John Ruſhworth.

Severall

Severall Letters ſent from his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Officers of the Army, To the Right Honorable the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common-Councell aſſembled.

With their Anſwer to the ſaid Letters.

Right Honorable,

WE received yours of the Eighteenth of this inſtant, whereof, though all paſſages were not ſo anſwerable to our expectation as we hoped, yet we apprehend the ſame good affection in you towards this Army, as was expreſſed in your former Letter: And that not onely from the aſſurance of the worthy Gentlemen, (your Commiſſioners) againe ſent to us; but alſo from that information we have received of your extraordinary endeavours to procure money for the Army: To prevent further raiſing or liſting of Souldiers, and to procure thoſe already Liſted to bee disbanded, (ſome perſons of your *Militia* onely, having been active for the raiſing of them without your privity:) As likewiſe from that Letter (fill'd with reſpect) which you prepared and intended to us; and being ſent to the Parliament, was obſtructed by ſome perſons, (who labouring to imbroyle the Kingdome in a new Warre) would not have the Forces already raiſed to be disbanded, who excepted againſt your diſcovery to the Houſe, That ſome perſons onely of the *Militia* had joyned in the raiſing of the new Forces, who alſo would prevent a right underſtanding between your City and this Army, knowing a firme correſpondence betweene them, would make the Deſignes of all ſuch men hopeleſſe. And though our taking notice of theſe things ſeemes not regular, yet being ſo publickly done, we thought fit to mind you of them.

Now although we have confidence of the reall and cleare intentions of your Lordſhip, the Aldermen, and the Commons of your City to promote the peace of this Kingdome, and the juſt deſires of this Army; Alſo to prevent all tendencies to a new War, or any further blood, and therefore hold our ſelves obliged to yeeld all poſſible complyance to what you deſire

ſire of us; yet adding to the former grounds, the many informations which daily come to us of the continued underhand workings of ſome Perſons ſtill to liſt men, that divers Agents are ſent into ſeverall parts of the Kingdome to levie forces, and *Worceſter* the place appointed for a generall Randezvouz, whither the Forces deſigned for *Ireland*, (that were part of this Army) are by ſome of the Committee at *Derby* houſe ordered to March: and ſeverall of thoſe Companies who went out from us for the ſervice of *Ireland*, having it intimated to them, and by divers carriages perceiving they were intended a foundation for a new Army, and a new Warre, they ſo much abhorred the thoughts of it, as both the Officers and Souldiers of divers Companies, are of late entirely returned to us: Likewiſe, that no meanes is left unattempted to bring in Forces from *Ireland*, *France*, and *Scotland*, againſt the Peace of this poore Kingdome.

We (upon the whole matter) offer to yours, and all mens Conſiderations, whether with yours, ours, or the publick Safety, we can remove further backeward, untill upon yours, and our joint endeavours with the Parliament, thoſe things of immediate, and preſſing neceſſitie be provided for, which we deſired in our Paper laſt given in to the Parliaments Commiſſioners in order to the better proceeding upon the Heads of the Repreſentation and Charge, with more hopes of ſafety, and of a timely and happy iſſue to our ſelves, and the Kingdome, (*viz.*) That the perſons impeached by us, may not continue in power and capacity to obſtruct due proceedings againſt themſelves: And for their owne eſcape from juſtice to threaten ruine to the whole Nation.

That all forces lately raiſed or liſted in, or about the City, may be forthwith diſcharged, except the uſuall number of Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, and that all endeavours publickly or privately to raiſe any further forces may ceaſe and be ſuppreſt.

And that the ſame meaſure may be allowed to this Army, in paying them up to the ſame foot of accompt, as is already given to thoſe who have deſerted the ſame.

And for the things expreſt in our Repreſentation though of weighty importance, yet becauſe they will require time, they ſhall be no occaſion to impede our remove, and in the meane time both by Proclamation from his Excellency, and all other wayes we ſhall deavour, That the accuſtomed ſupplies to your City, may be freely ſent up.

To conclude, we ſay from our hearts, That as our eſpeciall ends are the glory of God, and the good of this whole Land, ſo our endeavours ſhall be to proſecute the ſame without prejudice to the being or well-be-

ing

ing of Parliament in generall, (the maintenance whereof we value above our owne lives) or (as we have formerly ſaid) of this Parliament in particular, but altogether in order to the good and peace of this Nation, and with a moſt tender regard to your City, to which we profeſſe we ſhall by all actions make good all engagements tending to the ſecurity thereof, in what way your ſelves ſhall deſire, conſiſting with the good of the whole Kingdome, you making good your mutuall correſpondency with us, not doing any thing to our prejudice in the proſecution of our juſt deſires and endeavours.

St. Albans, June 21. 1647.

WE heare (even now) ſince the writing of this Letter, that (yeſterday) divers of the Reformadoes came againe (in a threatning manner) to *Weſtminſter*, the Houſe of Commons then ſitting, to the great affrightment and terror of divers faithfull Members then preſent, and to diſcouragement of others from their attendance there; ſo that we cannot but perceive that the freedome of this Parliament is no better then that thoſe Members who ſhall according to their conſciences endeavour to prevent a ſecond War, and act contrary to their wayes, who (for their owne preſervation) intend it, they muſt doe it with the hazzard of their lives; which indeed is a thing ſo deſtructive to Parliaments, and Freedome, that we conceive our ſelves in duty bound to endeavour to the utmoſt to procure redreſſe therein.

June 22. 1647.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax *and the Councell of War.* Jo. Ruſhworth, *Secretary.*

For the right Honorable the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councell of the City of *London.*

My Lord and Gent.

WE have in al things dealt clearly and plainly with you, and hope we ſhall continue ſtill to doe ſo. As ſoon as the worthy Aldermen, and the other two Gentlemen, your Commiſſioners came the laſt night to us; we acquainted them with our purpoſe to draw the Head quarter to *Vxbridge*,

bridge, that ſo we might contract our Quarters which have hitherto lien ſcattered: at which place we hope to receive that which will be ſatisfaction to the whole Kingdome, and will remove obſtructions out of the way of Juſtice; wherein if right were done, we ſhould let you and all the world ſee, that we would be ſo farre from preſſing neer your City of *London*, it ſhould be indifferent to us to march not onely to the diſtance already preſcribed, but to any part of the Kingdome we ſhould be commanded to by the Parliament; we have aſked nothing hitherto but right in the things that are known, as if they were proved an hundred times before them from whom we have ſought them, which if granted would not only be a Iuſtice to the Army, but would let the Kingdome ſee the Fountain in a way to be cleared, without which nothing of force or power would be a ſecurity to any man. We wiſh the name of priviledges may not lie in the ballance with the ſafety of a Kingdome, and the reality of doing juſtice, which as we have ſaid too often, we cannot expect whilſt the perſons we have accuſed are the Kingdomes and our Iudges; A little delay will endanger the putting the Kingdome into bloud, notwithſtanding what hath been ſaid, if it be conſidered that in *Wales* (beſides under-hand-workings in your City) and other places, men are raiſed, and that in no ſmall numbers. And are not thoſe men in the Parliament who have continued faithfull to the common intereſt from the beginning of the Parliament to this very day, ſtill awed by the concourſe of Reformado Officers and others to their doores? Expence of time will be their advantage only who intend to bring evill purpoſes to paſſe: we have written this to you for your ſatisfaction, that ſo nothing may be done without giving you a perfect account of our intentions and ends; And ſtill to continue our aſſurance to you, that ſhould neceſſity bring us neerer to the City, our former faith given you ſhall be obſerved inviolably there being nothing more (next the good of the Kingdome) in our thoughts and deſires, then the proſperitie of your City.

Barkehamſtead
June 25. 1647.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, *and the Counſell of Warre.*

Signed, Jo. Ruſhworth

For

For his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Knight Generall of the Forces raiſed by the Parliament, and his Honorable Councell of Warre.

May it pleaſe your Excellency, and the honorable Councel of War.

WE the Major, Alder. and Cõmons in Common-Councel aſſembled, having received yours to us of the 21. and 22. and your Excellencies to our Committee of the 23. inſtant; with a Copy of a Remonſtrance directed to the Parliament; did ſend three of that number yeſterday to acquaint you with our reſolutions thereupon, ſince which we have cauſed Copies of thoſe *Letters* to be preſented to both Houſes, deſiring their direction concerning the reſiding of ſome of that Committee continually with you in the head Quarter; and that according to our former requeſts the Reformadoes and other Officers and Souldiers raiſed for the ſervice of the Parliament, might be required forthwith to repaire into their ſeverall Counties, there to receive ſuch ſatisfaction as is or ſhall be appointed by Parliament; and that if any Souldiers be liſted upon the Votes of the Committee of Lords and Commons, and Committee of the Militia, that they may be forthwith diſcharged. Whereupon ſeverall Votes were made, unto which we deſire to be referred.

We have alſo taken thoſe Letters (with another received from thoſe we ſent yeſterday, and a Copie of a Letter dated the 24. inſtant, delivered to the Commiſſioners of Parliament, and yours of the 25. inſtant) into further conſideration, thereby obſerving the conſtancie of your expreſſions, to doe nothing in prejudice either of the Parliament or the City, and of your purpoſe by Proclamation, and otherwiſe, to endeavour that the accuſtomed ſupplies of this City may be freely ſent up; all which we do with all due thankfulneſſe acknowledge, and to preſerve a right underſtanding with you, we have appointed the ſaid Committee or ſix of them at the leaſt, continually to reſide in your head Quarter; and do intend to make it our requeſt to the Parliament, that whoever have or ſhall endeavour to raiſe any forces to ingage this Kingdome in a new War, may be diſcovered and prevented therein; and that you may receive ſatisfaction equall to thoſe that have left the Army, ſo ſoone as it is poſſible for the Parliament to performe the ſame; relying upon

the assurance you have given us, that your speciall ends are the glory of God, the good of this whole land, and the safety of Parliament and City. To conclude, the neer approach of your Army to this City, causeth us once more to desire you to take it into your most serious consideration; for albeit you doe not come to offer any violence to us, yet we have and shall suffer very much in our trade and price of Victuals by reason thereof, which we hope you will be so sensible of, as to prevent it in the future by removing further off, and by taking such a course that we may receive no further prejudice either in the one or the other, which is our earnest desire, and that in your indeavors to save the Kingdome from ruine, you doe not overthrow the fundamentall constitution of Parliament, which is essentiall to the well-being thereof.

London 25. *June*, 1647.

By command of the Major, Aldermen and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common-Councell assembled. *Michel.*

To the Right honorable the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councell of the City of *London.*

IT was last night resolved by the Generall and Councell of War, for present not to Advance any of the Army neerer *London*; but whereas the Foot (being all quartered then at *Watford*, *Vxbridge*, and *Colebrooke* were very troublesome and burthensome to those places, It was only Ordered, that the Quarters of the Foot should be inlarged for the ease of those places; whereupon (by a mistake of that Resolution in the setting out of quarters) some Regiments had quarters assigned for inlargement at places lying much forwarder towards *London*, as farre as *Harrow on the Hill*, *Hayes*, *Cranford*, *Harlington*, *Bedfont*, *Feltham*, *and Hanworth*; This morning so soone as this was understood by the Generall, and the Officers, there were Orders immediately sent out to stop the Regiments, and now none quartered nearer *London*, then *Watford*, *Ristip*, *Ikeham*, *Hellindon*, *Cowley*, *Drayton*, *Hamsworth*, *Stanwell* and *Staines*, which make a line about fifteen or sixteen miles distance from *London*; And to avoid any disquieting to the Parliament or City upon future apprehensions, His Excellency and his Officers do promise, That there shall be no further Advance, either of the Army or any quarters of it, any nearer to *London*, without timely notice thereof, and of the Reasons of it, to the Parliament and City.

Uxbridge June 26. 1647.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fair ax *and the Councell of Warre*, John Rushworth

An humble *Remonſtrance* from his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the Army under his Command, concerning the preſent State of affairs in relation to themſelves and and the Kingdom, with their deſires and preſent Reſolutions thereupon.

Preſented to the Commiſſioners at S. *Albans* June 23. 1647. to be by them humbly preſented to the Parliament.

Preſent, his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax.*

Lieutenant General *Cromwel.*
Lieut. Gen. *Hamond.*
Com. Gen. *Ireton.*
Sir *Hardreſſe Waller.*
Col. *Lambert*
Col. *Rich.*
Col. *Lilburn.*
Col. *Okey.*
Col. *Hewſon.*
Col. *Scroope.*
Col. *Harriſon.*
Col. *Tomlinſon,*
Col. *Horton.*
Col. *Pride.*
Quarter Maſter Gen. *Groſvenor.*
Scout-Mr. Gen. *Watſon.*
Adjutant Gen. *Deane.*
Lieutenant Col. *Jubbs.*
Lieut. Col. *Cobbet.*
Lieut. Col. *Ewers.*
Lieut. Col. *Salman.*
Lieut. Col. *Goffe.*
Major *Barton.*
Major *Rogers.*
Major *Sanders.*
Capt. *Cannon.*
Capt. *Husbands.*
Capt. *Diſney*

The Remonſtrance of the Army was this day read, and after debate thereof by the Councell of War, was agreed unto, and afterwards by direction of the Generall and Councell of Warre, was delivered unto the Commiſſioners of Parliament reſiding at St. *Albans*, by the hands of Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*, Col. *Rich*, and Col. *Tomlinſon.*

OUr Deſires as Souldiers in behalfe of our ſelves and other Souldiers that have faithfully ſerved the *Parliament* in this Kingdome, as alſo our remaining diſſatisfactions in relation thereunto, may be clearly collected out of our ſeverall Papers that have formerly been preſented to the *Parliament* concerning the ſame, to which particulars we have not yet received any fnrther ſatisfaction.

2. In our laſt Repreſentation it may appeare what our Deſires are, as

Members of the Common-wealth in behalfe of our ſelves, and all others for the clearing, ſetling, and ſecuring of the Rights, Liberties and peace of the Kingdome: for the Iuſtneſſe, Reaſonableneſſe, Neceſſity, and Common concernement whereof unto all, we dare appeale to the whole Kingdome, and to the World: yet we have hitherto received no Anſwer thereunto, nor can we heare of any conſideration taken thereupon, to put the things contained therein into any way of reſolution or diſpatch.

3. We have ſince, in purſuance of the firſt and ſecond head of our deſires in the ſaid repreſentation, delivered in a charge againſt divers perſons, Members of the Houſe of *Commons*, for divers deſignes and Practiſes to the abuſe and diſhonour of the *Parliament*, the inſufferable injury of the *Army*, the infringement of the Rights and Liberties both of Souldiers and Subjects, the breach or hazzard of the peace of this Kingdome, and the hinderance of the reliefe of *Ireland*, &c.

4. Upon which though the maine things charged, with the miſchievous effects and further dangerous conſequences of them, as alſo the conſtant and continued activity of all, or moſt of the perſons charged in relation to thoſe things, for the moſt part are ſufficiently known, eſpecially to the Parliament it ſelfe, yet we find neither any thing done upon what is ſo knowne, nor any way reſolved on or admitted by the Parliament for the examination or diſcovery of what may be leſſe knowne: But rather (as if neither the things charged nor the preſent ſad effects nor future ill conſequences thereof were at all conſiderable) the whole buſineſſe ſeems to be ſlightly paſt over or ſet aſide.

Laſtly, we did with theſe deliver in another paper (whereof here is a Copy annexed) containing divers juſt and neceſſary things which we did deſire might be provided for, and done for the better proceeding in the Premiſſes with more ſafety to our ſelves and the Kiugdome, and with more aſſurance or hopes of a timely and happy iſſue.

To which things deſired (which we ſuppoſe all men reaſonable will thinke juſt and neceſſary,) we have yet received no Anſwer or reſolution, nor can find any conſideration at all had of them; ſave that a Moneths pay is ſent downe to the *Army*, whilſt thoſe that have deſerted the *Army*, receive at *London* much more, and that ſome Votes have been paſſed for the annulling the Committee pretended for ſafety about liſting of men, and drawing of Forces together; which Votes we find rendred but vaine and deluſive by the continued under-hand practiſes of thoſe whom we have charged, and their accomplices in liſting and ingaging men for a new Warre, and by a later dayes Votes, not admitting

that

that the Forces ſo liſted or ingaged ſhould by publick Order be diſmiſt or diſcharged: which with other things we cannot but attribute chiefly to the prevalent influence of the ſame perſons.

Now whereas we find that our firſt deſire in the Paper laſt mentioned (for preſent ſuſpending the perſons impeached from ſitting in the Houſe) is judged by ſome to be againſt the courſe and priviledge of Parliament, or of ill conſequence in the preſident of it, (the charge being but general, and no particular proofes as yet produced to render the proceedings Legall) we cannot but remind the Parliament.

Firſt, That as the moſt and maine things charged (with the ſad effects and conſequences of them) ſo the conſtant and continued activity of all or moſt of the perſons charged in relation thereunto, (in miſinforming, deluding, abuſing or ſuppriſing the Houſe, and otherwiſe, are ſufficiently knowne to the Parliament it ſelfe,) ſo as the Houſe might upon their own paſt and preſent cognizance of the ſame, moſt juſtly proceed to ſuſpend them,) as (in many other caſes upon farre leſſe occaſions which never could have produced ſuch ſad effects to the Kingdome,) they have done many other of their Members meerly for words ſpoken of things moved in the Houſe alledged to be but againſt Order or Cuſtome of the Houſe, and this without any triall, proofe or charge, but meerly upon the Houſes owne cognizance of the things, as we could inſtance in many caſes ſince this Parliament began.

Secondly, Whereas many of the things to which the Charge relates, are things ſpoken, moved or done in the Houſe, ſo as yet we have no clear way opened particularly to charge or mention them, or to produce proofs to them, without ſome pretence againſt us of breach of priviledge, and therefore (though we think no priviledge ought to protect wicked men in doing wrong to particulars, or miſchiefe to the publique, yet) we have been hitherto ſo tender of Parliament priviledges, as that we have onely remonſtrated the evill of ſuch things done, and ſuppoſing the Houſe to have beene (as we did, and doe beleeve, and if way were open, without breach of priviledge, ſhould not doubt to prove it was) ſome wayes miſinformed, deluded, ſurprized, or otherwiſe abuſed in theſe things by evil Members, we have frequently in former papers, (before the Charge) put the Parliament upon it, (who without colour of breach of privilndge might doe it,) to finde out and diſcover who they were that had ſo abuſed them, and to diſingage the honour of Parliament from the evill practiſes and deſignes of ſuch Inſendiaries.

Now ſince the ſame difficulties or prejudices lye yet in our way, (as to the particular charging or proofe of ſuch things againſt Members,)

And

And the Parliament (though ſo often put upon it in our former Papers, yet through the powerfull intereſt of the perſons guilty,) hath not taken any cognizance what Members or others have ſo abuſed them, to draw the Parliament to ſuch diſhonour and inconveniences, we cannot but againe more fully and clearely aſſert (as we have in former Papers, and ſhall more particularly if need be, remonſtrate) that divers things lately done and paſſed from the Parliament againſt this Army, (as particularly the Order for ſuppreſſing the Petition, that high Declaration againſt it, and againſt all that ſhould proceed in it, putting the faithfull ſervants of the Parliament and Kingdome out of the protection of the Law and expoſing them as enemies to the State, &c. to the forfeiture of Eſtates, Liberties, Life and all, but for going about in an humble, peaceable and inoffenſive way, to deſire what was undeniably their due, and dearly earned, and many other ſuch like proceedings both againſt the Army and others,) do carry with them ſuch a face of injuſtice, oppreſſion, arbitrarineſſe and tyranny, as (we thinke) is not to be paralleld in any former proceedings of the moſt Arbitrary Courts againſt any private men, but have brought inſufferable diſhonour upon the Parliament, (which we are, and others ought to be deeply ſenſible of,) hath tended to diſoblige all men, eſpecially Souldiers from the ſame, to deſtroy all juſt freedome either of Souldiers or Subjects, and hath conduced to all other the ſad effects and worſe conſequences, expreſſed in the Charge, and gives us and others cauſe to conclude that thoſe worthies, who have formerly acted and carried on things in Parliament for Publick good, Right and freedome, are now awed or over-borne by a prevailing party of men of other private intereſts crept in, and that neither we nor any other can reaſonably expect right, freedome or ſafety (as private men) or to have things acted in Parliament for publick good while the ſame perſons continue there in the ſame power to abuſe the name and authority of Parliament, to ſerve and proſecute their private intereſts and paſſions; and (under the priviledges of Parliament) to ſhelter themſelves under the worſt of evils or miſchiefes they can doe, though to the ruine of the Kingdome. We are in this caſe forc'd (to our great grief of heart) thus plainly to aſſert the preſent evill and miſcheif, together with the future worſe conſequences of the things lately done even in the Parliament it ſelfe, (which are too evident and viſible to all.) And ſo (in their proper colours) to lay the ſame at the Parliaments doores, untill the Parliament ſhall be pleaſed either of themſelves to take notice and ridde the Houſe of thoſe who have any way miſinformed, deluded, ſurpriſed, or otherwiſe abuſed the Parliament to the paſſing ſuch foule things there, or

ſhall

ſhall open to us and others ſome way how we may (regularly and without the ſcandall of breaking priviledges, come to charge and proſecute thoſe particular perſons, that (in truth) have ſo abuſed the Parliament, (as well as our ſelves) even for thoſe miſinformations, and other evill and indirect practiſes or proceedings in Parliament, whereby they have ſo abuſed the ſame (as in our ſaid Charge and former papers is ſet forth.

And here (if we may) we ſhould humbly offer to conſideration whether it were not a neceſſary expedient, for prevention or remedy of ſuch evils in future, that in things ſo clearly deſtructive to the common Rights and Liberties of the people, and the ſafety of the Kingdome, there ſhould be a liberty for diſſenting Members in the Houſe of Commons (as it is allowed in the Houſe of Peeres) to enter their diſſent, and thereby to acquit themſelves from guilt and blame of what evill may enſue, that ſo the Kingdome may regularly come to know who they are that performe their truſt faithfully, and who not. And this proviſion for the future, (as alſo our deſires for remedy in the preſent caſes) as it were clearly good and neceſſary in the reſpects premiſed, ſo (we think) the ſame may well be without future prejudice or diſcouragement in any other reſpects to ſucceeding Members of Parliament. Providing alwayes that no man ſhall be queſtioned or cenſured for any thing ſaid or done in Parliament any further then to excluſion from that truſt, which is all that in the preſent caſe we ſhould deſire upon any ſuch grounds. And that future liberty of entring diſſents we do not here propoſe as a thing we any way inſiſt on to the prejudice of Parliament priviledges, we only offer it to conſideration, and that from good wiſhes to the priviledges of Parliament, to render them more laſting by being leſſe nocent. And indeed whoever moſt adores or tenders thoſe priviledges, will beſt expreſſe his zeale towards them in taking care they be not abuſed or extended to private wrong or publike miſcheif. (For wee clearly finde and all wiſe men may ſee it) that Parliament priviledges, as well as Royall-prerogative, may be perverted and abuſed to the deſtruction of thoſe greater ends for whoſe protection and preſervation they were admitted or intended (viz.) the Rights & Liberties of the people and ſafety of the whole) and in caſe they be ſo, the abuſe, evill, or danger of them is no leſſe to be contended againſt, and a remedy thereof no leſſe to be endeavored, then of the other.

And whereas the injuſtice (in that particular of the Declaration againſt the Army for the juſt and innocent Petition) may ſeeme to have beene recompenſed in the late expunging thereof out of the Journall books. We confeſſe it had been ſo in great meaſure, as to the particular or preſent injury done to the Army therein, and (we cannot but acknowledge

ledge therefore the juſtice that lies in thoſe Votes for expunging thereof, and for our owne or the Armies particular reparation, we ſhould neither wiſh more, nor ſcarce have inſiſted on ſo much to any diſhonour of Parliaments in future, and we ſhould rather have been ſatisfied with the Parliaments declaring how, and by whom they have been miſinformed, ſurpriſed, or otherwiſe abuſed in the framing, propoſal or paſſing thereof as it was, but as to that particular, or any other of that nature, we ſay as followeth.

1. We never did nor doe value or regard our owne injury or reparation in any compariſon to the conſequence of the one, to the prejudice of the other, or to the future ſecurity of common right and freedome in this Nation, And accordingly we doe not account any reparation conſiderable that extends but to our ſelves in the preſent caſe, and does not in ſome ſort ſecure our ſelves, and all others from danger of the ſame or worſe injuries or oppreſſions, (as private men from the wils and paſſions of the ſame perſons that have offered and acted ſuch things againſt us while an Army.

2. We cannot but imagine and conſider (according to generall report) how the expunging of that Declaration was carried and obtained, and upon what grounds and intentions it was given way to, but had thoſe that procured it been all for expunging it (and that freely) yet how can we expect better but that the ſame men who at one time carried ſuch a Declaration, and another time expung'd it, may the next day obtaine the like or worſe (upon any occaſion wherein it may ſerve their private ends or intereſts) if they continue in the ſame power and ſway and be let paſſe in deluding and ſurpriſing the Parliament as they have done in the paſt particulars.

3. The apparent diſhonour and prejudice brought upon the Parliament, in having ſuch a Declaration ſo paſſed as they ſhould ſoone after, (without any alteration) in the pretended ground of it find cauſe (for ſhame of the world) to expunge (we thinke) ſhould engage thoſe Members that love Parliaments in point of honour, to find out and diſcover, how, and by whom the Parliament had been abuſed or otherwiſe brought into ſuch an inconveniency. And the Parliament may in this ſee the temper, (as by-ſtanders doe the prevalence) of thoſe Members that abuſed the Parliament in that Declaration, who will and can make the authority of Parliament ſtill lie under the diſhonour of it (in a bare expunging or retracting) rather then to admit any conſideration to acquit the authority of Parliament that would tend to fix the blame on thoſe particular Members that had deſerted it. And this certainly will be admitted and done

done rather then to ſlight it over in a bare expunging, were not ſome men more tender of, and more ſwayed with ſuch conſiderations and conſequences as may tend to the prejudice of perſons, then ſuch as tend to the generall prejudice and diſhonour of Parliaments.

As to theſe particulars included in our charge, which depend on things done without the Parliament, we are ready, and ſhould moſt willingly, proceed in the particular charging and proving thereof if (firſt from the Juſtice of the Houſe in a preſent proceeding againſt the perſons charged for thoſe things that are already known to the Houſe being done in it) we could find incouragement to expect any good iſſue upon thoſe other things, and did we not (on the contrary) find that (notwithſtanding what is ſo knowne to the Houſe as before expreſſed) the ſame perſons continue in ſuch power and prevalence both in the Houſe, and in all Committees of the higheſt truſt, as leaves little hope of Right or ſatisfaction to the Army or Kingdome in other things, and much leſſe in any juſt proceeding againſt themſelves, while they continue Judges of their owne and our concernements, ſo as we cannot, while they remaine in the ſame power, expect any other but a continued perverting and making advantage of all things (and eſpecially of thoſe delays which a regular proceeding againſt them would neceſſarily induce) altogether to our owne and the Kingdomes prejudice and danger diſable or weaken us for thoſe things, which the ſafety and ſetling of the Rights, Liberties, and peace of the Kingdome requires: And to ſtrengthen themſelves by under-hand practiſes and preparations both at home and abroad the better to oppoſe us, and engage the Kingdome in a new War, thereby to accompliſh their deſignes, or at leaſt to ſave themſelves from Juſtice in a common confuſion: We ſay were it not for theſe and other conſiderations, that leave little hopes of Iuſtice to our ſelves or the Kingdome (while they continue in the ſame power,) and render all delayes dangerous and deſtructive to our ſelves and peace of the Kingdome, we ſhould be contented that the buſineſſe concerning the Members we have charged ſhould be laid aſide, till thoſe other things were firſt ſetled, which our Declaration does propound for the common Rights and Liberties of the Kingdome.

But finding things ſtill ſo carried as they are, and as we have before expreſt, and that while they are Iudges in their owne cauſes they (with that party which they make) will do what they pleaſe, and yet render it a breach of Priviledge to be accuſed for it, we cannot but upon all theſe conſiderations and for all the reaſons before expreſt inſiſt upon it that the members charged may firſt be forthwith ſuſpended from ſitting in the

Houſe otherwiſe we cannot expect any faire proceedings againſt them, upon a more particular charge, nor thinke there is any good intended to our ſelves or the Kingdome.

As to our deſire of having the Army preſently paid up equally with thoſe that have deſerted it, we appeale to all men for the Iuſtice, reaſonableneſſe, and neceſſity thereof.

The Iuſtice in that the former ſervice (for which theſe artears are due) hath been (at leaſt) as faithfully and diligently performed by the Army as by thoſe late deſerters of it, and in our preſent poſture (though they have appeared indeed more officious and ſerviceable to the intereſt and will of particular men then we, yet we are ſure) the Army is and (we hope) will at laſt appear to be more faithfull to the true intereſts of Parliaments and the Kingdome (which we were at firſt called out and ingaged for) then they in deſerting the Army have hitherto appeared.

For the reaſonableneſſe of our deſires though we have ground to claim more then they, or rather that they or ſome of them ſhould forfeit their Arrears; yet we aske (for preſent) but equall, nor ſhould we (at preſent) inſiſt much on that (as to Officers) if our Souldiers were but firſt paid up. Our neceſſity to inſiſt on that, is obvious to every man, and therefore (unleſſe we ſhould betray our owne and the Kingdomes cauſe) we cannot but poſitively inſiſt upon it, that the Army ſhould forthwith be paid up, (at the leaſt equally to thoſe deſertors of it, which if denied or delayed, we ſhall be thereby inforc't upon preſent wayes of inſtant remedy and right to the Army therein.

And whereas the Parliament hath lately ordered and publickly declared that all that ſhall deſert the Army, ſhall have preſent ſatisfaction in their Arrears (the Officers three Moneths pay, the Souldiers all their Arrears deducting for free Quarter) which ſtill continues unrecalled, we cannot but look upon it as a moſt cleare evidence of the continuing malice and prevalence of ours and the Kingdomes Enemies. And we muſt and do inſiſt upon it, that that order or Declaration may forthwith be publikely recalled, otherwiſe we cannot beleeve that any thing but ruine and deſtruction is deſigned to our ſelves and all others in the Kingdome, who every where call upon us, not to disband till we ſee the Rights, Liberties, and peace of the Kingdome ſetled according to the many Declarations by which we were firſt called forth, and invited to ingage in the late War.

Next we cannot but take notice that (in ſtead of granting or Anſweing our deſires in the laſt Paper,) in order to the better and more ſafe

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proceeding to a compoſure and ſettlement of all things for the good and peace of the Kingdome, and for prevention of a new War, the Army being firſt commanded to forty miles diſtance from *London*, his Majeſties perſon is demanded immediately to *Richmond* houſe within eight miles of *London*, which (as we cannot but impute it) to the prevailing intereſt of the ſame enemies to our and the Kingdomes peace, ſo all men may eaſily diſcerne (with us) how directly it tends (in purſuance of their former private deſigne) upon the King ere he came from *Holdenby* to put his Majeſty within the reach of thoſe mens power who have under-hand Liſted about *London*, already very conſiderable numbers both of horſe and foot, and are daily liſting and engaging more both there and in many parts of the Kingdome to ſerve their deſignes: And therefore we appeale to all uningaged men whether we can in this give way to have the King put ſo farre within thoſe mens power, without giving them the ſo long ſought for advantage of his Majeſties Perſons, whereby to imbroyle the Kingdome in a new and bloudy War, and to ſtrengthen themſelves in their miſcheivous deſignes, the better to uphold and eſtabliſh their faction and intended domination, ſo that in this caſe we cannot but importune the Parliament (as they tender the peace and ſafety of the Kingdome and the avoiding of Iealouſies or worſe inconveniency in the Army) that they would reſume the conſideration of this buſineſſe concerning the Perſon of the King, and not propoſe any place for him neeter to *London* then they would have the Quarters of the Army to be.

And whereas (by the procurement of the ſame perſons, or others of their party) there hath been ſcandalous informations preſented to the Houſes, and induſtrioufly publiſhed in print, importing, as if his Majeſty were kept as a priſoner amongſt us, and barbarouſly and uncivilly uſed, we cannot but declare that the ſame and all other ſuggeſtions of that ſort are moſt falſe and ſcandalous, and abſolutely contrary, not only to our declared deſires, but alſo to our Principles which are moſt clearly for a generall right and juſt freedome to all men. And therfore upon this occaſion we cannot but declare particularly, that we deſire the ſame for the King, and others of his party, (ſo farre as can conſiſt with common right or freedome) and with the ſecurity of the ſame for future,) and we do further clearely profeſſe we do not ſee how there can be any peace to this Kingdome, firme or laſting without a due conſideration of, and proviſion for the Rights, Quiet, and Immunity of his Majeſties Royall Family, and his late pertakers, and herein we thinke that tender and equitable dealing (as ſuppoſing there caſes had been ours) and a Spirit of com-

mon love and juſtice diffuſing it ſelfe, to the good and preſervation of all, will make up the moſt glorious conqueſts over their hearts, (if God in mercy ſee it good) to make them, and the whole People of the Land, laſting friends.

Now to draw to a concluſion: ſince we can yet obtaine no ſatisfaction or anſwer to the things deſired as before, but contrariwiſe find all things carried on by the prevailing intereſt of thoſe our enemies, to the prejudice and danger of our ſelves and the Kingdome, ſince (notwithſtanding ſome Votes of Parliament againſt the late Orders of the *Committee of ſafety*, for liſting of Forces, and notwithſtanding the earneſt deſires and indeavours of the City, concurrent with our owne, to have the ſame prevented or remedied, yet the ſaid *Committee of ſafety*, being continued ſtill in the ſame power) we find that by the appointment or contrivance, and under the protection or countenance of the ſame perſons whom we have charged, and their accomplices, there are ſtill manifold practiſes under-hand to liſt and raiſe new Forces, and (notwithſtanding the diſcovery thereof to the Parliament from the City, yet) the ſame perſons have prevailed ſo far in the Houſe, as not to admit the Queſtion for diſcharging of them, but the ſame practices ſtill continue, and with double diligence are inforced ſince: alſo divers forces (pretended to have ingaged for *Ireland*) are by the ſame perſons ordered to Randezvouz about *Worceſter*, there to lay the foundation of a new Army. And to that purpoſe their Emiſſaries and correſpondents in all Counties, are buſie and active to raiſe forces for them. And though for theſe things the actors of them have no preſent publick authority, yet they have ſome way, ſuch countenance or aſſiſtance to be juſtified in Parliament, (if queſtioned for it) as that they have the confidence to act openly, ſince they have likewiſe their Emiſſaries or Agents abroad in *Scotland*, *France*, and other Countries, very active to draw in forraine Forces for their aſſiſtance; ſince in the mean time, they are endeavouring by Spies and ſecret agents in all our Quarters, to inveigle and invite the Souldiers of this Army to deſert their Officers and come to *London*, and for that purpoſe do improve the advantage of the Order or Declaration of Parliament afore-mentioned, for ſatisfaction of Arreares to ſuch as ſhall deſert the Army. And we find they have the publick purſe ſo much at their diſpoſall, as to make good that, and other their undertakings of that nature; and yet ſuch as have ſo deſerted the Army and received their Arrears, are not diſcharged or diſperſed, but continued together in bodies, and under command, in or near the City, (as in particular ſome of Sir *Robert Pyes* men, Coll. *Greaves* his, Cap. *Farmers* and others ſtill quartered upon *Kent*) Since

like-

likewiſe they have Agents, and Correſpondents, labouring with the King to make contracts with him to draw his Majeſty to engage, and declare for them, or at leaſt to declare himſelfe a priſoner amongſt us, whereby to ſtirre up and engage his party againſt us, ſince in all theſe reſpects we find all delatory wayes (which they induſtriouſly deviſe) to be deſigned and made uſe of only to our diſadvantage, weakning, and ruine, and the Kingdomes prejudice, and to their owne advantage, and ſtrengthening in their deſignes, the better to prepare for a new War.

And laſtly, conſidering the multitudes of Reformadoes and other Souldiers, ſwarming about the City (whom the perſons we have charged and their accomplices, have at their beck, to bring up to *Weſtminſter* when they pleaſe) and that by their frequent tumultuous confluences thither, (beſetting, and ſometimes blocking up the Parliament doores threatning and offering violence to the perſons of the moſt faithfull Parliament men (the juſt freedome of Parliament ſeems to be taken away, or at leaſt for the preſent abrogated, in ſo much that thoſe Members who have ſerved the Kingdome hitherto with moſt faithfulneſſe, diligence and integrity for the publick good, many of them dare ſcarce come to the Houſe; or (if they doe) they come in feare and perill of their lives, and when they are there, are awed, di charged, or diſabled from diſcharging their conſciences, or doing their duties to the Kingdome.

Upon all theſe conſiderations, we are clearely convinc'd and ſatisfied, that both our duties and truſt for the Parliament and Kingdome cals upon us, and warrants us, and an imminent neceſſity (for our owne and the Kingdomes ſafety, and a prevention of a new warre) inforceth us to make or admit of no longer delayes, but upon theſe foundations God hath given us with vigour and ſpeed, to indeavour in ſome extraordinary way, the vindicating of Parliament freedome from tumultuons violence, the breaking of theſe deſignes and preparations that otherwiſe threaten a preſent imbroilement of the Kingdome in more blood and war, and a future perpetuable inſlaving of it under faction and Tyranny. And ſo (if God ſee it good) to put the Parliament into a freedome and capacity (with his Majeſties wiſhed and hoped concurrence) to ſettle the Rights, Liberties and peace of the Kingdome.

Upon all theſe grounds, and for all theſe ends premiſed, we ſhall be inforced to take ſuch courſes extraordinary, as God ſhall inable and direct us unto, to put things to a ſpeedy iſſue, unleſſe by Thurſday night next we receive aſſurance and ſecurity to our ſelves and the Kingdome, for a more ſafe and hopefull proceeding in an ordinary way, by having thoſe things granted, which in order thereunto we have before inſiſted

on. And ſhall here for more brevity and clearneſſe, repeat as followeth.

1 *That the declaration, inviting men to deſert the Army, and promiſing their Arrears in caſe they doe ſo, may be recalled and annulled.*

2 *That the Army may be preſently paid up equally to thoſe that have deſerted it.*

3 *That his Majeſties comming to* Richmond *may be ſuſpended untill affaires be better ſetled and compoſed. And in the meane time no place may be appointed that may be neerer to* London *than the Parliament will allow the Quarters of the Army to be.*

4 *That the Members charged may be forthwith ſuſpended or ſequeſtred the Houſe.*

5 *That thoſe that have deſerted the Army, may be inſtantly diſcharged and diſperſed and receive no more of their Arrears till the Army be firſt ſatisfied.*

6 *That both Parliament and City, may be ſpeedily and effectually freed from thoſe multitudes of Reformadoes and Souldiers before mentioned, that flock together about* London, *by a ſpeedy diſpatch and diſcharging of them from the City.*

7 *That all ſuch liſtings or raiſing of new forces, or drawing together of any before mentioned, and all preparations towards a new warre may be effectually declared againſt and ſuppreſſed, as alſo all invitations or indeavours to draw in forraigne forces.*

8 *That the preſent perplexed affaires of the Kingdome and thoſe concerning the Army as alſo all the things deſired in our late repreſentation in behalfe of the Kingdome may be put into ſome ſpeedy way of ſettlement, and compoſure.*

St. Albans June 23. 1647.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax *and the Councell of Warre*, John Ruſhworth, *Secretary*

A *Manifeſto* from his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the Army under his command, &c.

With ſeven Propoſitions for the preſent Peace and ſettlement of the Kingdom; which being granted, they aſſure the Parliament to draw back. *June* 27.

WHereas the Right Honourable Commiſſioners of Parliament have deſired to know from us, what things we do deſire to be granted, before our drawing back the Quarters of the Army to a further diſtance from *London*, upon the grantingwhereof we will ingage to draw back. We do in anſwer thereunto humbly propoſe theſe particulars following, as what

what are of preſent neceſſity to us, and we do deſire at preſent to be granted, in order to the Armies and Kingdoms preſent ſafety, in the further debate, tranſaction, and ſettlement of thoſe other things contained in our former repreſentations and Papers, which will require, and may admit more time; Upon the granting of which things we ſhall willingly draw back (as is deſired) to have thoſe other matters debated and tranſacted at a further diſtance, with deliberation anſwerable to the nature and weight of them.

I. *That the Parliament would be pleaſed to recall the Declaration inviting men to deſert the army, and promiſing their arrears in caſe they do ſo, and to declare for future, that whoever ſhall deſert their Cullors or charges in the army, without the Generals particular licence, and diſcharge, ſhall not have any of their Arrears paid them.*

II. *That the army may be paid up, equally to thoſe that have deſerted it: This we deſire may be immediately granted, or reſolved before we draw back, and to be performed (at leaſt) to the private Souldiers fully, and in part, to the Officers with all ſpeed convenient.*

III. *That thoſe that have deſerted the army may be inſtantly diſcharged, and diſperſed, and receive no more of their arrears, till the army may be firſt ſatisfied.*

IV. *That both Parliament and City, may be ſpeedily and effectually freed from the multitude of reformadoes, and other Souldiers before mentioned, that flock together in, or about* London, *by a ſpeedy diſpatch and diſcharging of them from the City.*

V. *That all ſuch liſtings and raiſings of new forces, or drawing together of any (as in our Remonſtrance and all our Papers are expreſt) and all preparations towards a new warre, may be effectually declared againſt, and ſuppreſt; as alſo all invitations and indeavours to draw in forraigne forces, either from* Scotland *or other forraigne parts.*

IV. *That the continuation of the army, in the pay of the State for ſome competent time, (while the matter in debate relating both to the army and Kingdome, may be concluded and ſetled,) be at preſent ordered and declared for, (before our drawing back) and the ſame with all ſpeed to be effectually put into one eſtabliſhed way, that the army may be inabled to pay Quarters for the eaſe of the Countrey where it muſt lie, and the Souldiery the better kept from abuſe to the Countrey, and reduced to that good order and diſcipline, which hath formerly been happily kept in this army, though of late (through want of pay, and other juſt diſcontents, which the late provocations put upon them,) unhappily interrupted.*

VII. *That during the ſame ſpace the Parliament would reſolve not to propoſe*

poſe any Place for his Majeſties reſidence nearer to London *then they will allow the Quarters of the army to be.*

NOw for our former deſire of preſent ſuſpending the impeached Members from ſitting in the Houſe.

1. Whereas we underſtand the Houſe hath voted, that it doth not appeare that any thing hath been ſaid or done by them within the Houſe, touching any matter contained in the Papers from the Army, for which the Houſe can in Juſtice ſuſpend them, though (if way were given, and opened without breach of Priviledge for us to charge them with, and for others to be examined freely to teſtifie unto ſuch things,) we ſhould not doubt to make ſuch proceedings and Practiſes of theirs in the Houſe to appeare, for which according to former Preſidents, they juſtly might and ought to be ſuſpended; yet we are ſo tender of Parliament Priviledges, as that we ſhall at preſent forbeare, to reply or preſſe further upon that point for the houſes proceedings therein, upon their owne cognizance.

2. Whereas the houſe of Commons hath voted, that by the Lawes of the Land, no Judgement can be given to ſuſpend thoſe Members from ſitting in the Houſe upon the Papers preſented by the Army, before particulars produced, and proofes made; though we thinke good reaſons may be given, and preſidents found to the contrary, even in the Proceedings of this Parliament, as in the caſe of the Earle of *Strafford* the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the L. Keeper *Finch*, and others; Yet we do declare, that we have both particulars and proofes againſt them ready to produce; but conſidering that the proceedings thereupon, will probably take up much time; and the preſent unſetled affaires of the Kingdome, in relation to thoſe greater matters propoſed by us, do require a ſpeedy conſideration. We ſhal be willing, that thoſe greater and more generall matters of the Kingdome be firſt conſidered of, and ſetled, before the Cenſure of thoſe Members be determined; and therefore becauſe they may apprehend it ſome prejudice to them to have their particular charges given in, and lye upon them ſo long undetermined, we ſhall be willing to forbear the giving in of the particulars againſt them, till they may without interruption to the generall affairs, be immediately proceeded upon; but if the houſe do thinke fit the particulars againſt them be firſt delivered in, we ſhall be ready to do it.

3. Whereas we underſtand, that the Members charged have deſired leave from the houſes to withdraw themſelves: We cannot but take notice of the modeſty thereof, ſo farre, as that we are contented therewith, for the preſent more quiet proceeding to ſettle the perplexed affairs of the King-

Kingdome (which without any ptivate animoſities againſt perſons) is our greateſt end in what we do; only we declare, that (as we ſuppoſe the Gentlemen themſelves from the ſame grounds that induced them to offer this, will ſtill forbeare to offer the contrary, till the matters concerning them be heard and determined, or to make any new interruption or diſturbance to the proceeding upon, or ſettlement of the generall affaires of the Kingdome. So we hope and ſhall confidently expect that the wiſedome and juſtice of the Houſe, will not admit any thing to the contrary, or leave it to an hazard thereof, but will uſe ſufficient care and caution, againſt ſuch things, and for the bringing of thoſe Members to tryall, when the Houſe ſhall judge it more ſeaſonable and ſafe, as before expreſt.

Uxbridge June 27. 1647.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax *and his Councell of War. Signed,* John Ruſhworth *Secr.*

WHereas without Order from the Generall, or the Councell of War, *Nicholas Cowley* Commiſſary Generall of proviſions, hath iſſued out Warrants to ſome Hundreds within leſſe then a mile of *London*, to bring proviſions from thence into the Army, which he pretended to be Randezvouzed between *London* and *Uxbridge*; Whereas there was no ſuch thing ordered by the Generall, or his Councell of War. It is therefore this day ordered by the Generall and his Councel of warre, that the ſaid Commiſſary Cowley ſhall ſtand committed, and he is thereby committed to the Marſhall, from whence he is not to be diſcharged, untill he hath given ſatisfaction to the Commiſſioners for the City of *London*, reſiding at *Uxbridge*.

Uxbridge Junii 27.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, *and the Councell of War. Signed,* John Ruſhworth *Secr.*

The Kings Majeſties moſt gracious Letter to his Son his Highneſſe *James*, Duke of *York*, written with his Majeſties own hand; read in both Houſes of Parliament.

C. R.

IAmes, *I am in hope, that you may be permitted, with your Brother, and Siſter, to come to ſome place, betwixt this and* London, *where I may ſee you.*

To this end therefore; I command you, to aske leave of the two Houſes, to make a journey (if it may be) for a night or two.

But rather then not to ſee you; I will be content that yee come to ſome convenient place to dine, and go back at night.

And foreſeeing the feare of your being brought within the power of the Army, as I am, may be objected, to hinder this my deſire.

I have full aſſurance from Sir Thomas Fairfax, *and the chiefe Officers, that there will be no interruption, or impediment, made by them, for your returne, how, and when you pleaſe.*

So God bleſſe you.

Your loving Father
Charles Rex.

Caſam July 4. 1647.

Two Letters from his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, One to both Houſes of Parliament; giving an accompt of what Tranſactions and Proceedings have been betwixt the Kings Majeſty and the Army, ſince his coming into their Quarters. With ſome farther Propoſals in relation to his Majeſty, and the ſpeedy ſettlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, &c.

Maſter Speaker,

I Was ſent unto by the King on Friday laſt, to deſire the Parliament to give way to Him to ſee his children; and that they might for that purpoſe be ſent to Him: If I may be bold humbly to offer my Opinion, I thinke the allowance of ſuch a thing may be without the leaſt prejudice

to

to the Kingdome, and yet gain more upon his Majeſtie then denying it; and if it be in the prayers of every good man, that his heart may be gained, the performance of ſuch civilities to him is very ſutable to thoſe Deſires, and will heare well with all men, who (if they can imagine it to be their own caſe) cannot but be ſorry, if His Majeſties naturall affections to His Children, in ſo ſmall a thing ſhould not be complyed with, and if any queſtion ſhould be concerning the aſſurance of their returne, I ſhall ingage for their return within what time the Parliament ſhall limit.

Upon this occaſion give me leave, I beſeech you, to take notice of ſome reports ſpread abroad, as if my ſelfe and the Officers of the Army were upon ſome under-hand Contract or Bargaine with the King; and from thence occaſion is taken to ſlander our Integrities, and endeavour a miſunderſtanding betwixt the Parliament and their Army, the fidelity of which to the Parliament and Kingdome, and their affection to it, are the great objects of many mens Envies, becauſe they ſee nothing ſo likely to ſettle Right and Freedome, with Truth and Peace to us and Poſterity, and to hinder their Deſigns againſt the ſame, as an Harmony or good accord between the Parliament and Army, which is the joy of good men, and it ſhall be our ſtudy to preſerve againſt all Deſignes and Deſigners to the contrary.

To prevent therefore all miſunderſtandings of that kinde, I thought fit with all clearneſſe to declare unto you, That we have done nothing, nor ſhall do any thing which we deſire to hide from you or the world, or ſhall not avow to the faces of our greateſt Adverſaries.

Our Deſires concerning a juſt conſideration and ſettlement of the Kings Rights (His Majeſty firſt giving His concurrence to ſettle and ſecure the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdome) We have already publickely declared in our Repreſentation and Remonſtrance. Since the firſt of thoſe Papers ſent to the Parliament, there have been ſeverall Officers of the Army upon ſeverall occaſions ſent to His Majeſty, the firſt to preſent to Him a Copy of the Repreſentation, and after that ſome others to tender Him a copy of the Remonſtrance; upon both which, the Officers ſent were appointed to clear the ſence and intention of any thing in either Paper, whereupon His Majeſty might make any queſtion. Since then, there have alſo been ſome Officers at ſeverall times ſent to His Majeſty about His remove from *Hatfield*, to diſſwade (if poſſibly) from *Windſor* or any place ſo near *London*, to ſome place of further diſtance, anſwerable to what we had deſired of the Parliament.

In all which addreſſes to his Majeſty, we care not who knowes what hath been ſaid or done; for as we have nothing to bargaine for or to

ask, either from His Majeſty or the Parliament, for advantage to our ſelves, or any particular party or intereſt of our own; ſo in all thoſe Addreſſes to His Majeſty, we have utterly diſclaimed and diſavowed any ſuch thing, or any Overtures or Thoughts tending that way; but the only intent and effect of thoſe our Addreſſes hath been, to deſire and endeavor His Majeſties free concurrence with the Parliament, for eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the common Rights and Liberties, and ſetling the peace of the Kingdome; And to aſſure Him. That (the publick being ſo provided for, with ſuch His Majeſties concurrence) it is fully agreeable to all our Principles, and ſhould be our deſires and indeavour, That (with, and in ſuch ſetling of the Publick) the Rights of His Majeſties Royall Family ſhould be alſo provided for, ſo as a laſting Peace and Agreement might be ſetled in this Nation: And that, as we had publickly declared for the ſame in generall terms, ſo (if things came to a way of ſettlement) we ſhould not be wanting (in our ſphæres) to owne that Generall Deſire, in any particulars of natural or civill right to His Majeſties perſon or Family, which might not prejudice or againe indanger the Publick, and in the meane time, That his Majeſtie ſhould find all perſonall civilities and reſpects from us, with all reaſonable freedome that might ſtand with ſafety, and with the truſt or charge lying upon us concerning His Perſon.

You have here the utmoſt ſum of what hath paſſed from us to His Majeſty; and we could wiſh all men did rightly underſtand (without miſrepreſentations) every particular wherein (as we know nothing not agreeable to Reaſon, Juſtice, Honeſty, or Conſcience, ſo) we thought our ſelves concerned the rather to ſay and doe, as we have towards his Majeſty ſince He came within our Quarters, becauſe of thoſe common prejudices ſuggeſted againſt us, as if we were utter Enemies to Monarchy, and all Civill Order and Governement.

And for that particular of the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Two Chaplains lately permitted to attend His Majeſty, It was not done without much reluctancy, becauſe therein we doubted we might be miſunderſtood by the Kingdomes beſt friends.

But upon His Majeſties continuing importunity for it (as a thing very nearly concerning His preſent inward and ontward contentment: and conceiving thoſe perſons ſuch (as we hoped) would not do ill offices to prejudice the Peace of the Kingdome, we did give way to it, and the perſons (before they came) had notice of the permiſſion: And as we then thought, ſo we ſtill do thinke, that to allow him ſome ſuch company of perſons leaſt dangerous, whom former acquaintance may make him take pleaſure in, and the allowance of ſome ſuch Chaplains of His own are

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things reaſonable and juſt; and the debarring of that liberty in the latter (We doubt) will but make him more prejudiced againſt other Miniſters.

In general; We humbly conceive that to avoid all harſhneſſe, and afford all kind uſage to his Majeſties Perſon, in things conſiſting with the Peace and Safety of the Kingdome, is the moſt Chriſtian, Honorable and Prudent way: And in all things (as the Repreſentation and Remonſtrance of the Army doth expreſſe) We think that tender, equitable and moderate dealing, both towards His Majeſty, His Royall Family, and His late party (ſo farre as may ſtand with ſafety to the Kingdome, and ſecurity to our common Righrs and Liberties) is the moſt hopefull courſe to take away the ſeeds of War or future Feuds amongſt us for poſterity, and to procure a laſting Peace and Agreement in this now diſtracted Nation; To the effecting and ſetling whereof (with a ſecure proviſion firſt to be made for the common Rights and Liberties of the Kingdome, and a due care to preſerve and propagate the Goſpell of Truth and Peace amongſt us) we ſhall hope that neither the Parliament nor his Majeſty will be wanting: And if God ſhall ſee it good to make us any way inſtrumentall thereunto, or that we may otherwiſe ſee the ſame accompliſht, we ſhall then thinke our ſelves indeed diſcharged from the publick engagements we have been called out unto, more clearly and effectually then (before ſuch things were ſetled) we could have thought our ſelves to be, and (to demonſtrate our clearneſſe from ſeeking ſelf-advantages in what we did) we ſhall thenceforth account it our greateſt happineſſe and Honor (if God ſee it good) to be diſingaged and diſmiſt, not only from our military charges, but from all other matters of Power or publick imployment whatſoever.

I have in theſe things ſpoke, not in my owne Name alone, but in the Name (becauſe I find it to be the clear ſence of generality, or at leaſt of the moſt conſiderable part of the Army, and I am confident you and the Kingdome will never find it otherwiſe, I ſhall leave it to your favorable conſtruction, and commit all to the goodneſſe of God for an happy iſſue, I remain

Reading, July 8. 1647.

Your moſt humble ſervant

Thomas Fairfax.

For the Right Honorable,
The Lords and Commons
aſſembled in Parliament.

For

For the Right Honorable the Lord Major, Aldermen and Common-Councel of the City of *London*.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

TO the end we may continue a right underſtanding betwixt you and us, all along in the management of this great buſineſſe with the Parliament, (the happy proceedings thereof ſo much concerning the ſafety and peace of this Kingdome) we have given your Commiſſioners this day the copie of a Paper, which we preſented to the Commiſſioners of Parliament reſiding with us; wherein we take notice of the true reaſons of the ſlow progreſſe in the Treaty, and declare where the ſtop remains. And to the end that nothing may be wanting in us; which might work toward the ſpeedy ſettlement of the quiet of this Kingdome: we have humbly offered what we can ſay will moſt effectually tend to remove thoſe incumbrances and letts which ſtand between us and the univerſal good of the Kingdome, and till that be done, it cannot be expected that we ſhould procure the Peace of this Kingdome by a Treaty, but rather give occaſion and opportunity thereby to others to ingage us in a ſecond War, which muſt neceſſarily hazzard the ruine of this Kiugdome, as alſo the certaine deſtruction of *Ireland*, the reliefe whereof we ſhould moſt effectually apply unto you, were the affairs of *England* but once put into an hopefull poſture. It is a ſudden and ſubſtantiall ſettlement of the whole we deſire in a generall, ſafe, and well-grounded Peace, and the eſtabliſhment of ſuch good Laws, as may duly and readily render to every man their juſt Rights and Liberties: and for the obtaining of theſe, not only our intentions had led us to, but we think that all the Blood, Treaſure and Labour ſpent in this War, was for the accompliſhing thoſe very things, which are of that concernement both to our ſelves and poſterity, that neither we nor they can live comfortably without them; and thereof we hope your ſelvs, will have the ſame ſence, and therefore improve your intereſt for the obtaining our juſt Deſires in the Propoſals now ſent unto the Parliament; which being granted, and we ſecured from the danger of a War, we ſhall proceed with chearefulneſſe to the Treaty, and doubt not in a ſhort time to ſee an happy Concluſion, to the ſatisfaction of all honeſt mens Expectation, and that in all our undertakings we ſhall be found men of truth, fully and ſingly anſwering the things we have held forth to the Kingdom in our ſeverall Declarations and Papers, without by or baſe reſpects to any private end or intereſt whatſoever.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir
Reading, July 8. 1647. T. Fairfax, *and his Councel of War.*
Signed, J. R. Secre.

A Paper delivered in by the Commiſſioners of Parliament, *Wedneſday, July 7.* 1647.

THat finding the expectation of the Parliament and Kingdom to be very great upon the ſpeedy progreſſe and happy iſſue of this Treaty; in conſideration whereof, we have made it our care conſtantly to tend at the appointed times of meeting, and to preſſe all diſpatch therein: And we canot but take notice that the proceedings on your part have been and are very ſlow, and that little or nothing hath been done in the Treaty ſince our entrance thereupon: and therefore in diſcharge of our Duty, and the Truſt repoſed in us, we do very earneſtly deſire that the Treaty may be effectually proceeded on with all expedition, and the times for meeting punctually kept; there being nothing that ſha'l be wanting in us, according to the power given us, to further a work of ſo great importance, and which may perfect a right underſtanding betwixt the Parliament and the Army.

Reading, July 7. 1647.

By the appointment of the Commiſſioners reſiding with the Army

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An Anſwer of the Commiſſioners of the Army to the Paper of the Commiſſioners of Parliament about a ſpeedy proceeding.

BY the laſt Paper delivered in unto us from your Lordſhips at *Reading July 7.* we perceive you find, that the Expectation of the Parliament and Kingdome is great upon the ſpeedy progreſſe and happy iſſue of this Treaty. We anſwer, that we do really apprehend the ſame things with you, neither can we but witneſſe that you have conſtantly attended the appointed times of meeting, and preſt diſpatch therein: Nevertheleſſe we cannot but be very ſenſible that you ſeem to reflect upon us further then there is juſt cauſe, in your taking notice that the proceedings herein ſhould be ſlow and dilatory on our part, as if we ſhould not ſeem to deſire and labour the quick and ſpeedy ſettlement o the affaires of the Kingdome in a ſafe and well-grounded Peace as cordially as any perſons whatſoever. We ſhall therefore deſire you to remember with what forwardneſſe we have in the firſt place preſented to you thoſe things which we did in our hearts conceive neceſſary in order to a Treaty, and without which being granted, we could not with ſafety to the Kingdome and ſatisfaction to our ſelves proceed in Treaty; and further preſt you to preſent them to the Parliament with ſpeed, that a quick diſpatch might be had therein,

as

as being in our thoughts the chiefeſt and ſureſt way to prevent the engaging this Kingdome in a ſecond Warr; when contrary to our expectation we have found little effectually done, in relation to our Deſires, in thoſe things moſt concerning the ſafety and peace of the Kingdome.

To the end therefore wee may acquit our ſelves from being guilty of the delay you mention, and that it may appeare to all men where the ſtick is, of not proceeding in the Treaty to a ſettlement of the Peace of the Kingdome, ſo much thirſted after by us all, we thought fit to reminde you of theſe following propoſals which we have formerly inſiſted upon, and to which ſatisfaction is not given.

I. *That there is nothing done with effect, notwithſtanding the Votes of the Houſe, to the diſperſing of the Reformado Officers, who continue in and about* London, *ready to head Forces, to the apparent hazzard of a new Warre.*

II. *That notwithſtanding the Votes of the Houſe for the ſpeedy ſending into* Ireland, *or diſbanding thoſe forces which have left the Army, and their ſpeciall Order to the Committee at Derby Houſe to take ſpeedy care therein, yet they are ſtill continued in bodies in and about* London, *and as we heare, are daily liſting more Forces pretending the ſervice of* Ireland.

III. *That notwithſtanding the Votes of the Houſe of the tenth of June, and thoſe ſince of the fifth of July, for the preſent purging of the Houſe, yet divers perſons compriſed in theſe Votes continue ſtill to ſit there.*

So long as we remain unſatisfied in the two firſt of theſe particulars, we cannot be ſecured from thoſe doubts, we have expreſſed of the danger of a new Warre, eſpecially if it be conſidered, that the end of inviting ſo many Reformado Officers to *London*, was to lay a foundation of a new Warre, and was principally carried on by the deſigne of ſome of thoſe Members of the houſe of Commons we have impeached. And likewiſe that divers of the Officers and Souldiers which left this Army were procured by promiſes of pay, and other ingagements, which were likewiſe deſigned by the ſame perſons aforementioned, if poſſibly they might thereby have broken this Army.

And for the laſt, what comfortable effect may we expect of a Treaty, ſo long as the Parliament (the ſupreme Judicatory of the Kingdome) is conſtituted of ſome that are men of intereſts, contrary to the common good thereof, from whom we can expect nothing but banding and deſigning; to obſtruct and fruſtrate all proceedings (contrary to their intereſt) though never ſo eſſentiall to the happy ſettlement of the Kingdome: and if a ſeaſonable remedy be not given herein, we deſpaire of any good to the Kingdome by way of Treaty.

Signed,

Reading, 7. July, 1647.

By the appointment of the Commiſſioners of the Army. W. Clerk, *Secre.*

A PARTICVLAR CHARGE OR IMPEACHMENT

In the Name of his Excellency Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX,

And the Army under his Command, againſt *Denzill Holles* Eſquier, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clothworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, Knights, Major Generall *Maſſie*, *John Glynne* Eſquire, Recorder of *London*, *Walter Long* Eſquire, Colonel *Edward Harley*, and *Anthony Nicoll* Eſquire, Members of the Honorable Houſe of *Commons*.

WHereas on the fifteenth day of *June* laſt, the Heads of a Charge were delivered in the name of the ſaid Army, unto the Commiſſioners of Parliament, to bee ſent up to the Parliament, againſt the Perſons above named. Now in proſecution and maintenance thereof, and according to the power thereby preſerved; It is in the Name of the ſaid Army more particularly charged againſt the ſaid perſons as followeth:

1. That the ſaid Mr. *Denzill Holles* during the late Warre in proſecution of the evill deſignes expreſſed in the generall Heads or Articles formerly exhibited, contrary to the truſt repoſed in him, contrary to his Oath taken in *June* 1643. and contrary to the Ordinance of Parliament, dated in *October* 1643. hath aſſiſted the King in the late unnaturall Warre, and held correſpondency and intelligence with the Enemy againſt the Parliament in manner following, (*viz.*) He the ſaid Mr *Holles* being one of the ſpeciall Commiſſioners for the Parliament, to preſent Propoſitions of both Houſes to the King at *Oxford*, did privately and contrary to his inſtructions, at ſeverall times make his addreſſes unto the Kings

party there then in Armes againſt the Parliament; namely, unto the Earle of *Lyndſey*, the Earle of *Southampton*, the Lord *Savill*, and others, and did ſecretly plot and adviſe them againſt the Parliament; and did intimate unto them, or one of them, that the ſaid Propoſitions then ſent unto his Majeſty by the Parliament, were unreaſonable. And the ſaid M. *Holles* being demanded, what Anſwer he would adviſe the King to make to the Propoſitions, he the ſaid M. *Holles* did adviſe, that the King ſhould demand a Treaty however, and then declare how unreaſonable the Propoſitions were; and that yet for the peace of the Kingdome, his Majeſty would Treate upon them, but withall wiſhed the ſaid Treaty might be in *London*, whether the King himſelfe ſhould come upon ſecurity. He the ſaid M. *Holles* adding, that there was nothing in the world, that the violent party (meaning the well-affected party to the Parliament againſt the Enemy) did ſo much feare, as his Majeſties comming to *London*, which would be a certaine diſſolution of their authority and power. And the ſaid Mr. *Holles* bad thoſe ſaid perſons, or one of them, aſſure the King, that if his Majeſty knew as much as hee (the ſaid Mr. *Holles*) knew, his Majeſty would take his Horſe and be at *London* the next day, or words to that effect. And it being againe demanded, whether (if the King ſhould be willing to come) it would be accepted of. He the ſaid Mr. *Holles* thereto anſwered, that certainely it would bee much oppoſed; but yet hee the ſaid Mr. *Holles* was confident, that he and his party (meaning ſome of the members above named, and others) ſhould carry it, and wiſhed the King to put it upon that triall. And the ſaid Mr. *Holles* was deſired by the ſaid Earle of *Lindſey*, Earle of *Southampton*, and Lord *Savill*, or one of them, that he would be pleaſed to draw ſuch an Anſwer in writing to the ſaid Propoſitions, as he deſired the King ſhould ſend, and the ſaid Earle of *Southampton* (who was that night to lye in the Kings Bedchamber) would perſwade the the King to condiſcend unto it, and thereupon the ſaid Mr. *Hollas* withdrew, and either the ſame day, or the next day following, the ſaid Mr. *Holles* accordingly carried in his hand, unto the ſaid Lords, or one of them, a paper ready written, which (as he ſaid) was ſuch an Anſwer to the ſaid Propoſitions as he had drawne for the King to ſend to the Parliament, which was taken by the ſaid Lords, or one of them, and carried to the King, to be conſidered of, and ſo much thereof as adviſed the Kings comming to *London* was laid by, (the King fearing to adventure himſelfe) but the reſt of the ſaid Paper the Lord *Digby* (who writ the Kings Anſwer to the ſaid Propoſitions) made uſe of in the ſame words as the ſaid Mr. *Holles* had ſet downe; And the ſaid Mr. *Holles* to ingratiate himſelfe with the Kings party, did about the ſame time revile the well-affected Mem-

bers

bers of the Houſe of Commons, declaring unto the ſaid Kings party at *Oxford*, or ſome of them, that thoſe well-affected Members (which to render them the more odious as he conceived, he named the violent *Independant* party) had ill intentions and greater averſenes to Peace, and that nothing would bee more pleaſing to them, then for the King to refuſe the Propoſitions, how unreaſonable ſoever the ſame were, and hee alſo then ſaid that the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* were very weary of that violent party, and that they being deſperate to eſtabliſh their *Presbytery* here as in *Scotland*, made their addreſſes to him the ſaid Mr. *Holles*, and his party. All which tended to the protracting of the ſaid late Warr, & to the hindrance of an happy Peace, and the ſaid Mr. *Holles* did alſo after that receive from the Earle of *Lindſey* a letter written in white inke, concerning ſome ſecret deſigne, and kept it from the knowledge of the Houſe, from *February* till about *July* after, when it was diſcovered by him that brought it: but the Letter it ſelfe was by Miſtris *Holles* ſaid (after hee had read it) burnt. And the ſaid Earle of *Linſey* moved the King for a paſſe for the ſaid Maſter *Holles* to goe to *Oxford*: but the King refuſed to grant it, ſaying, that *Holles* did him better ſervice in the Parliament, then he could doe him at *Oxford*.

2. That the ſaid Mr *Holles* and Sir *Philip Stapleton* during the ſaid late Warre (when the ſaid Earle of *Lindſey* went from the Tower of *London* to *Oxford*) ſent ſeverall Meſſages of intelligence to the Earle of *Dorſet*, and Lord *Digby*, thereby aſſuring them, that they, the ſaid Mr. *Holles* & Sir *Philip Stapleton* did better ſervice for rhe King here in Parliament, then they could doe him if they were at *Oxford*. And the ſaid Sir *Philip Stapleton* deſired that the ſaid Earle of *Dorſet*, would preſerve him the ſaid Sir *Philip* and his friends, in the good opinion of the party at *Oxford* (which was then the Kings Garriſon) and he the ſaid ſir *Philip* would doe as much for his Lordſhip, and his friends here with the Parliament. and the ſaid Mr. *Holles*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton* the more to ingratiate themſelves into the favour of the Enemy, did of their owne accord without any direction of the Parliament, draw up other Propoſitions then thoſe mentioned in the precedent Articles, which they affirmed were in their judgements fit for the King to grant, and for the Parliament to deſire, and being ſo drawn up ſent them privately to his Majeſtie, without any authority of Parliament to warrant the ſame.

3. That the ſaid Mr. *Holles*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Willi m Lewis*, Sir *John Clotworthie*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, Major generall *Maſſie*, Mr. *Glyn*, M. *Long*, Colonell *Edward Harley* and *Anthony Nicholls* in the Monethsof *March*, *Aprill*, *May*, and *June* laſt paſt, and at others times in

proſecution of the evill deſignes in the ſeverall generall heads mentioned, have frequently aſſembled and mett together at the Lady *Carliles* Lodging in White-Hall, and in other places with divers other perſons diſ-affected to the State (without any authority of Parliament,) for holding correſpondencie with the Queene of *England* now in *France*, and her participants with an intent by ſuch ſecret and clandeſtine treaties amongſt themſelves to put conditions upon the Parliament, and to bring in the King upon their owne tearmes, and having a great power upon the Treaſure of the Kingdome, have therewith maintained and encouraged by Penſions and otherwiſe the Queenes party in *France*, thereby to beget a ſecond and more bloudy Warre in this Kingdome, and they or ſome, or one of them aſſured the Queene 40000. l. *per annum*, if ſhee would aſſiſt them in their deſigne, and that they would doe more for the King then the Army would doe, and that they would finde out ſome meanes to deſtroy the Army and their friends.

4. That in further purſuance of the ſame evill deſignes, they the ſaid Mr. *Holles*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewes*, Sir *John Clotworthie*, Sir *William Waller*, and Major generall *Maſſey*, by the combination aforeſaid, within the ſpace of three monthes laſt paſt without any authority of Parliament: Invited the *Scots* and other forraigne forces to come into this Kingdome in a Hoſtile manner, to abett and aſſiſt them in the proſecuting and effecting of their ſaid deſignes. And the ſaid Mr. *Holles* very lately ſent to the ſaid Queene of *England* then and ſtill in *France*, adviſing her amongſt other things ſpeedily to ſend the Prince into *Scotland* to march into this Kingdome in an head of an Army. And did ſend a ſpeciall Meſſenger to her for ſuch ends and purpoſes. And the ſaid Mr. *Holles* Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Glin*, Major generall *Maſſey*, Mr. *Long*, Colonel *Edward Harley* and *Anthony Nicholls*, have under-hand, of their owne accord without authority of Parliament liſted, or cauſed, or procured to be liſted divers Commanders and Souldiers, endevouring thereby to leavy, and raiſe a new Warre in this Kingdome, to protect themſelves, in their unjuſt oppreſſions, and factious deſignes, and have at ſeverall times within the ſpace of two Monethes laſt paſt invited, incouraged, abetted and councelled multitudes of reformado-Officers and Souldiers and other rude perſons tumultuouſly and violently to gather together at *Weſtminſter*, to affright and aſſault the members of Parliament in their paſſage to and from the houſe, to offer violence to the houſe it ſelfe, locking the doore thereof upon them, and ſo impriſoning them, and by ſuch violences, out-rages and threates to awe and enforce the Parliament.

5. That

That the ſaid Mr. *Holles*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and M. *Glyn*, have been and are obſtructers and prejudgers of ſeverall Petitions to the Parliament for redreſſe of publique grievances; And the ſaid Mr. *Holles* and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, in the Moneth of *May* laſt paſt, did abuſe and affront divers Petitioners, who in a peaceable manner then attended the Committee, whereof Colonel *Lee* was Chaireman, not onely reviling and reproaching them, but violently haling, and boiſterouſly aſſaulted them, and offered to draw their Swords upon Major *Tuleday*, and others of the ſaid Petitioners, and without any power or authority committed *Nicholas Tew*, one of the ſaid Petitioners, And ſoone afterwards, by the procurement of the ſaid Mr. *Holles* and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and upon their miſinformation to the Houſe, the ſaid Major *Tuleday* and *Nicholas Tew* were impriſoned, not being permitted to ſpeake for themſelves; And the ſaid Mr. *Glyn* about three Moneths ſince, cauſed the ſaid *Nicholas Tew* to be impriſoned in Newgate, and to be detained a long time there, for no other cauſe, but for having a Petition about him which was to be preſented to the Houſe.

6. That the ſaid Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, and Major generall *Maſſey*, have lately, in proſecution of the ſaid deſignes in the ſaid general Heads mentioned (againſt the Lawes of this Realme, and Rules and Articles of Warre made by the Parliament) by an Arbitrary Power impriſoned ſome Members of the Army without any authority; particularly, Enſign *Nichols*, whoſe pockets they without authority cauſed to be ſearched, and ſeverall papers to be taken from him, contrary to the liberty of every Subject, and cauſed him to be ſent a priſoner from the Headquarters to *London*, without the authority or privity of the general, or the chiefe Officers of the Army commanding in his abſence.

7. That in or about the Moneth of *March* laſt, there being a Petition intended from the Officers & Souldiers of the Army to their General, for ſuch things only as were juſtly due unto them, and concerning them meerly as Souldiers, the ſaid Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, and Colonel *Edward Harley*, a Member of the Army, having gotten into their hands a Copy of the ſaid Petition, by combination with the other Members above mentioned, and with an intent to abuſe the Parliament into prejudices and jealouſies againſt the proceedings of the Army concerning the ſaid Petition (they well knowing that the ſaid Army ſtood in their way, and hindred them from bringing to paſſe the deſignes in the ſaid general Charges expreſſed) did untruly and maliciouſly informe the Houſe, That the ſaid Petition was contrived and promoted to debauch and diſoblige the Army from the Parliament; and that it was managed and carried on

by divers principal Officers in the Army, that Orders were given out for reading of it in every Regiment, and whoſoever would not ſubcribe it ſhould be put out of their Muſters, and caſhiered the Army; and by thoſe and other aggravations did repreſent it to the Houſe as a Deſigne againſt the Parliament: further adding, That ſome Regiments (which were remote) were ſent for to joyne with the reſt of the Army for that purpoſe; by which miſinformations they the ſaid Members did the ſame day procure a peremptory Order to the Generall, to ſuppreſſe the ſaid Petition.

8. That ſome few dayes after, Colonel *Edward Harley*, by the combination aforeſaid, and in purſuance of the ſame Deſignes, did procure to the Houſe a Letter ſuppoſed to be written from within the Quarters of the Army to him the ſaid Colonel *Harley*, by a perſon not named, whereby it was informed, that Colonel *Harley's* Lieutenant Colonel had drawn his Regiment to a Rendevouz, and had cauſed the ſaid petition to be read at the head of it, and that he threatned to caſhier and put out of the Muſters all that would not ſubſcribe it; and that the deſigne of the Army therein, was to enſlave the Parliament and King (if the Parliament proceeded not to ſome high Reſolutions) or to that effect, as by the ſaid Letter, relation being thereunto had, may appeare: And although the ſubſtance of the ſaid Letter was moſt untrue, and no Author thereof appeared, nor could be produced (although a Committee was appointed for examination thereof, and it was much preſſed the Author ſhould be diſcovered) yet the ſaid Colonel *Harley*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, and Sir *William Waller*, did ſo avow the reality of the ſaid Letter, and that the contents thereof would be made good, as that thereby, and by other falſe Suggeſtions of theirs againſt the Army, they procured the Houſe (upon a long Debate, which held till about Eight of the clock at night) to Order, That a Committee of five Members, whereof the ſaid Mr. *Holles* was one, ſhould prepare a Declaration to be brought into the Houſe the next morning, ſignifying the Houſes diſlike of the proceedings of the Army upon that Petition, as by the ſaid ORDER dated the day of laſt, may appeare; Upon which ſettling of the ſaid buſineſſe for that night, moſt of the Members departed, as conceiving nothing would be done thereupon, till the next day, and that then they might have a free Debate concerning the ſame; but the Houſe ſtill continuing to ſit upon diſpatch of ſome Letters formely Ordered, the ſaid Mr. *Holles*, by the ſame combination, and in farther proſecution of the ſaid evill Deſignes, having of himſelfe (without the Committee) prepared a Declaration againſt the Petition it ſelfe, contrary to the intention and direct-

direction of the ſaid Order, and contrary to the Rules of Juſtice, and uſual courſe of Parliament, did the ſame night, about Ten of the clock (on purpoſe to ſurpriſe the Houſe,) preſent the ſame Declaration to the Houſe, whereby the ſaid Petitioners were (without being heard) declared Enemies to the State, and Obſtructers of the relief of *Ireland* (if they ſtill perſiſted therein) as by the ſame Declaration (relation being thereunto had) may appeare, and did procure it to be then paſs'd accordingly, to the great diſhonour of the Parliament and their proceedings, to the inſufferable injury, the juſt provocations, diſcouragement, and diſcontent of the Army, to the trouble and danger of the whole Kingdome, to the hindring of the reliefe of *Ireland*, and other the evill conſequences in the ſaid general Charges expreſſed.

9. That by the ſame & the like falſe informations & Suggeſtions, the ſaid Colonel *Harley*, then ſtill a Member of the Army, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *VVilliam VValler*, and the ſaid other perſons, did ſhortly after the ſaid Declaration ſo made as aforeſaid; procure divers eminent and faithfull Officers of the Army, namely, Lieutenant General *Hamond*, Colonel *Hamond*, Col. *Lilburn*, Lieut. Col. *Pride*, and others, to be ſent for from their charges in the Army, to appeare at the Bar of the Houſe, to make anſwer in relation to the ſaid Petition, againſt whom (when they came thither) they could charge or prove nothing at all, inſomuch as the Houſe thought fit immediately to diſcharge them. And whereas there was a Committee appointed to examine and conſider of the truth or falſhood of them, and the ſaid Members informing were appointed to produce their Proofs and Evidence to the ſame before the Committee, though they have ſince then been often urged, called upon, and demanded to produce their Proofs and Evidence thereto (if they had any) and have been plainly told, That if they did not proceed effectually to doe it, they ſhould be accounted the Authors and Deviſers of the ſaid falſhood, and reparation would accordingly be demanded againſt them; yet they have not to this day produced any Proofs or Evidence to any of the ſaid Informations or Suggeſtions, whereby the Parliament and the Army were ſo much abuſed as before is declared; nor could they or any of them be hitherto perſwaded to give into the ſaid Committee any Charge againſt the ſaid Officers of the Army, which they have then or ſince procured to be ſent for as aforeſaid, but have held divers of them in a long and chargeable attendance upon the Houſe, without any thing laid to their charge, until the Houſe was pleaſed to diſcharge them.

10. That the ſaid Mr. *Holles*, Sir *Poilip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, and Major Generall *Maſſey* (in further

ther purſuance of the Deſignes mentioned in the generall Heads charged againſt them) have been great inſtruments in the obſtructing the reliefe of *Ireland*; And within the ſpace of two moneths laſt paſt did untruly informe the Houſe, That by their procurement there were Fifty Companies of Foot, and Ten Troopes of Horſe of this Army ingaged for *Ireland*, upon the termes and under the conduct then by the Parliament propounded; and the more to delude the Parliament therein, they or ſome of them, by the combination aforeſaid, did procure divers Officers then in this Army, namely, Colonell *Butler*, Lieutenant Colonell *Jackſon*, Major *Goodday* and others, to give in their Names, as Liſting themſelves for *Ireland* on the ſaid termes and conduct propounded: when as thoſe Officers did at the ſame time declare themſelves as unwilling thereunto, and reſolved not to goe ſerve in *Ireland* on any termes whatſoever, they the ſaid Members underhand aſſuring them, That though they made uſe of their Names, yet they ſhould not goe for the ſervice. They have likewiſe untruly informed the Houſe, and given in the Names of many conſiderable Officers of this Army, namely, Captaine *Pennyfather* and Captaine *Burges* of Colonels *Butlers* Regiment; Captaine *Clarke*, and foure or more Com' Officers of Sir *Hardres Wallers* Regiment and others, as having beene ſubſcribed for *Ireland*, who did not ſo ingage or ſubſcribe, nor give any conſent thereunto; but did then, and have ever ſince utterly diſavowed and denyed the ſame: And about the ſame time they alſo reported to the Houſe, the Name and offer of Lieu. Col. *Farrigntonof* this Army, and ingaging for himſelfe and his Regiment for *Ireland*, whereas the ſaid *Farrington* had beene caſhiered the Army a yeere and a halfe before, by which and other their falſe informations and reports of that nature the Parliament was abuſed and miſled into a conceit & confidence of a ſtrength out of the Army, then ſuppoſed to be engaged and ready for *Ireland* on their owne termes, whereas in truth the ſame was but a meere deluſion, and which was ſo contrived on purpoſe to occaſion a ſlighting and neglecting of the Army as ſuppoſing no further uſe for them.

11. Whereas part of three Regiments of Foot (*viz.*) Colonel *Harberts*, Colonel *Kemps*, and Colonel *Grays*, were by order of the Houſe advanced towards the reliefe of *Ireland* as farre as *Bromſgrave* in the County of *Worceſter*, the ſaid Sir *Phillip Stapleton*, Mr. *Holles*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Lewis*, and Major Generall *Maſſey*, Sir *William Waller*, and Mr. *Glyn*, by combination aforeſaid, did of their owne accord without the knowledge or direction of the Houſe, on the ſixt day of *Iune* laſt being Sabboth day, without ſummoning a Committee, command thoſe forces back againe as farre as *Reading*, with an evill intent to draw forces together to beget a new warre in *England*.

That

12. That the ſaid Sir *John Clotworthy* in proſecution of the deſignes in the ſaid generall charges expreſſed, hath in the year 1642, 1643, 1644. and ſince, converted ſeverall great ſummes of money (which by ſeverall Orders of Parliament, and of the *Iriſh* Committee were deſigned for the reliefe of *Ireland*) to his owne particular uſe, namely the ſumme of 280. li. which by Order of both Houſes dated the eleventh of *February*, 1642. was to be paid for 20. Buts of Sack for *Ireland*, 700. li. which the ſame day was alſo Ordered for two thouſand ſwords, 300. li. which by Order of the ſaid *Iriſh* Committee dated the fifth of *Aprill* 1643. was deſigned for 120. paire of Piſtols, and divers other ſummes of money upon ſeverall other Orders which he the ſaid Sir *John Clotworthy* from time to time received for the uſe and reliefe of *Ireland*, but were not imployed to the uſes by the ſaid Orders intended and directed, but to his the ſaid Sir *John Clotworthies* owne private uſe as aforeſaid; and that he hath within two yeares laſt paſt received ſeverall ſummes of money, Armes and other proviſions for a troop of horſe which he pretended he had raiſed in *Ireland*, when as he had not, nor did raiſe or furniſh any ſuch Troope as he pretended, and that hee the ſaid Sir *John Clotworthy* for money and other rewards hath preferred *John Davis*, and *VVilliam Sommers* and others to bee intruſted with the *Iriſh* affairs who have kept correſpondency with the Enemy, and have defrauded the State of other great ſummes of money, and hee hath been privy to and a ſharer in ſuch their actions.

13. That about *November* laſt paſt the ſaid Sir *John Clotworthy*, being by the Parliament ſent a Commiſſioner with others into *Ireland*, who all had a joynt power and authority to treat with the Earle of *Ormond* for the ſpace of foure dayes and no more, he the ſaid Sir *John Clotworthy* contrary to the ſpeciall truſt repoſed in him, held ſecret intelligence with the ſaid Earle of *Ormond* by Cypher or Character without the conſent or knowledge of thoſe others in commiſſion with him, and many weeks after the time ſo limited was expired, and about the ſame time hee the ſaid Sir *John Clotworthy* held ſecret intelligence with *George* Lord *Digby* then in *Ireland* beyond the time prefixed, and without the conſent of the ſaid other Commiſſioners, and in order thereunto, the ſaid *Ormond* and *Digby* lately imployed one *Slingsby* to come into this Kingdome about a deſigne concerning the *Prince* as he pretendeth.

14. That the ſaid Sir *John Clotworthy*, Mr. *Holles*, Sir *Philip Stapleton* by combination with the reſt of the Members before named, in further proſecution of the deſignes before mentioned, well knowing that the Lord *Lyle* late Preſident of *Ireland* was both faithfull and vigilant while he was truſted in the ſame Kingdome, and had now this laſt ſpring made

proviſions ready to march into the field, & that the Lord Baron of *Brohill* Generall of the Parliaments Horſe in *Munſter*, & Col. Sir *Arthur Loftus* perſons of honour and reputation, & of great fortunes inthe ſaid Kingdome, lately came purpoſely into this Kingdome to exhibite and did exhibit many Articles of high treaſon againſt the Lord *Inchiquin* for betraying the Parliaments Army to the enemy (as formerly he had done) yet by the great power and violent interpoſition of the ſaid Sir *Clotworthy*, Mr. *Holles* Sir *Philip Stapleton*, by the practice and combination aforeſaid, the ſaid Articles have been obſtructed, and the buſineſſe not ſuffered to come to a hearing, and the ſaid Lord *Liſle* haſtily called out of *Ireland*, and the power and command of the Parliaments forces in that Kingdome committed to the ſaid Lord *Inchiquin* to the loſſe of this ſummers ſervice, and the expence of much treaſure to make new preparations: and whereas the ſaid Lord *Liſle* being ſo ſuddenly called from thence as aforeſaid, did deſigne and depute Sir *Hardres VValler* Knight, Major General of the forces there (a man of known integrity and courage both for his ſervice in *England* and *Ireland*, and of conſiderable Fortunes there) to take care of the ſaid Lord *Liſles* Forces till the pleaſure of the Parliament may be further known; but the ſaid Lord *Inchequin* upon the receite of a Letter from the ſaid Sir *John Clotworthy*; Mr. *Holles* and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, or one of them (or from ſome other perſon by their, or one of their direction, privity or procurement) did expreſſe that hee had order or direction from *London*, that no man that favoured the Independents (under which name the ſaid Lord of *Inchequin* hath comprehended all men that have ſhewed themſelves oppoſite to Tyranny and Arbitrary government) ſhould have any truſt or command there. Nay, although they were of another judgement, yet if they would not proſecute the Independents they ſhould not bee imployed there, or words to that effect. And under colour thereof, the ſaid Sir *Hardres Waller*, and all others that had their Commiſſions from the ſaid Lord *Liſle* while hee commanded were diſplaced, to the diſcouragement of thoſe and other faithfull perſons to the Parliament, and to the great diſ-ſervice and hazard of the loſſe of that Kingdome.

15. That whereas a Committee of the Houſe of Commons hath been lately appointed by the Parliament to conſider of Propoſitions for the ſettling and preſervation of *Wales*, whereof the ſaid Sir *William Lewes* and Mr. *Glyn* were and are Members, and to report the ſame to the Houſe, They the ſaid Sir *William Lewes* and Maſter *Glyn* with others of the ſaid Committee did on the thirtieth day of *April* now laſt paſt without any authority of Parliament, before any report made to the Houſes, of their owne accord, in ſtead of ſettling and preſerving *Wales*, order that all Com-

Committees for Sequeſtrations ſhould forbeare all proceedings of Sequeſtrations againſt all or any the Inhabitants of *Wales*. And although ſome few perſons were (upon generall heads) excepted; yet by vertue of that illegall Order all the Commiſſioners of peace, Commiſſioners of Aſſociation (though never ſo active in preſſing men, and raiſing money for Forces againſt the Parliament) all the Commiſſioners of Array that did or ſhould at any time come in and ſubmit to the Parliament, or their Commanders in cheiſe, all that had born armes againſt the Parliament, unleſſe they were Governours or other Officers of Warre that held ſome Towne, Caſtle, or Fort againſt the Parliament, all diſaffected and ſcandalous Miniſters, though in their Sermons they uſually reviled and ſcandalized the Parliament and their proceedings, calling them Rebels and Traitours; and not onely incenſing the people againſt the Parliament, but uſually taking up Armes, and leading their Pariſhioners in armes upon any Alaram againſt the Parliament; and many other deſperate Delinquents have been, and ſtill are taken off and freed from ſequeſtration: and the ſaid Order was ſent to every ſeverall Committee in *Wales*, in ſeverall Letters from the ſaid Committee, contrary to ſeverall Orders and Ordinances of Parliament, and contrary to the Rules of juſtice and equity which ſhould impartially be adminiſtred as well in *Wales*, as in other places of this Kingdome, whereby the ill-affected Gentry and Miniſtery of that Country are growne ſo high & inſolent, that honeſt men dare ſcarc live amongſt them: ſo as that which was intended by the Parliament to ſettle and preſerve *Wales*, is by the practice of the ſaid Sir *William Lewes* and Maſter *Glyn* perverted to the danger and deſtruction of it.

16. That the ſaid Sir *William Lewis* and Maſter *Glyn* have further ingratiated themſelves with the Delinquents of *Wales*, and prepared them for their ſaid deſignes in manner following; (*viz.*) That the ſaid Sir *William Lewis* hath within two yeares laſt paſt countenanced and protected many of the moſt notorious and dangerous Delinquents within the ſeverall Counties of *Southwales*; namely the Lord of *Carbery*, and others in *Carmarthinſhire*, Maſter *Crane* and others in *Glamorganſhire*, Maſter *Morgan* late Knight of the ſhire, Maſter *John Herbert* and others in Brecknockſhire, Maſter *Gwin*, Maſter *Lewis*, and divers others in *Radnorſhire*, by freeing ſome of them altogether from compoſitions, though ſequeſtred, by labouring divers Members of the Houſe and of Committees to be favourable in compounding with others, and to admitt of ſuch to their compoſitions as were uncapable thereof. And the ſaid Sir *William Lewis* hath animated and incouraged ſome of the ſaid perſons to continue their fidelity unto ths Kings cauſe, promiſing them, That if they would be

friends with the King for him, hee and his would be their friends in the Parliament: in ſo much as his friends the Delinquents in thoſe parts have lately looked upon him as a riſing man when the King ſhall come to *London*, which hath lately been their conſtant boaſting. And the ſaid Sir *William Lewis* hath within two yeares laſt paſt cauſed divers that had been Commiſſioners for the King, and had preſt men, and raiſed monyes to promote the late Warre againſt the Parliament, namely, his Brother Maſter *Thomas Lewis*, Maſter *Gwyn*, Maſter *Charles Walbiffe*, Maſter *Meridith Lewis*, Maſter *Edward Williams*, and many others to be Commiſſioners of the peace, and Committee men for the ſaid County of Brecknoc, inſomuch as thoſe that have been moſt active and faithfull to the Parliament, have been and ſtill are outvoted in thoſe places, and can doe no conſiderable ſervice for the Parliament: and the rather for that the ſaid Sir *William Lewis* hath alſo procured one *Edward Williams* his owne kinſman, and one much diſaffected to the Parliament, to be Solicitor of Sequeſtrations in that County, who is, and hath been very remiſſe and corrupt therein. And the ſaid Sir *William Lewis* hath by the meanes aforeſaid lately procured Maſter *Edward Lewis* his ſonne, though unfit for that imployment, to be choſen and returned Burgeſſe for *Brecknoc*; which that hee might the better effect, he kept the Writ for election of the ſaid Burgeſſe above eight months in his owne cuſtodie before it was delivered to the Sheriffe of the ſaid County. And likewiſe that the ſaid Maſter *John Glyn* within two yeares laſt paſt hath procured ſeverall perſons that have lately been Commiſſioners of Array, and in Arms againſt the Paliament in *Northwales*, (viz.) and others to be named in the Commiſſion of the peace for the Counties of *Denbigh* and *Carnarvan*, and other Counties there, and to be put in other great places of Truſt and command there, and amongſt others, Colonel *Glyn* his Brother, who was lately a Colonel in the Kings Army, is by the ſaid Maſter *Iohn Glyns* procurement become Governour of the Town & Caſtle of *Carnarvan*, & Admirall or Vice-Admirall of the *Iriſh* Seas, to the endangering of thoſe countries lying upon the Coaſts towards Ireland, and to the feare and diſcouragement of the well-affected inhabitants of thoſe places.

17. That the ſaid Sir *VVilliam Lewis*, being heretofore during theſe troubles, Governour of *Portſmouth*, a Garriſon for the Parliament (in which time he received much of the publike treaſure, for which hee hath not yet given an accompt.) did while he was Governour there, frequently hold correſpondence and intelligence with the Kings party, about the delivery up of the ſaid Garriſon, inſomuch as although Sir *VVilliam VValler* & divers others in that Garriſon were proclaimed Traytors to the King,

yet

yet he (by the Kings ſpeciall command) was ſpared, the King affirming that the ſaid Sir *VVilliam Lewis* was his friend, and that he was confident he would doe him good ſervice, or to that effect, and although he then was a Parliament man, and Governour of *Portſmouth*, as aforeſaid, and his eſtate in the ſaid County of *Brecon.* (being of the value of above ſixe hundred pounds *per an.*) was three yeares in the Kings quarters, yet the ſame was never ſequeſtred. And ſince the Parliament hath prevailed, Colonell *Harbert Price* Eſquir, having beene Governour of *Brecknock* for the King againſt the Parliament being ſequeſtred, the ſaid ſir *Williem Lewis* by his ſolicitations to the Committee procured the perſonall eſtate of the ſaid Colonell *Price*, (which the Committee of the County had found out and cauſed to be brought to *Morgan Aubreyes* houſe in *Brecon.* to bee reſtored unto him without any ſatisfaction to the State and hath procured his the ſaid Colonell *Prices* Lands in the ſaid County of *Brecon.* being worth about three hundred pounds *per annum*, to be let to a friend of the ſaid Col. *Prices*, to his wives uſe, at 50 pounds *per annum*, contrary to the directions of ſeverall Ordinances of Parliament, made in that behalfe.

18. That the ſaid Mr. *John Glyn*, or ſome other perſon or perſons, by his direction, conſent, or privity, or to his uſe, hath during his being a member of the Houſe of Commons taken rewards of ſeverall perſons for ſervice done them in the Houſe, as namely amongſt others drivers Drovers from *VVales* who by his meanes and procurement had an allowance by order of the Houſe for 3000. l. in ſatisfaction of loſſes they had ſuſtained by the Enemy, did pay unto the Wife of the ſaid Mr. *Glyn* the ſume of one hundred pounds as a reward for his ſaid ſervice.

19. That the ſaid Mr. *Iohn Glyn* as he hath beene moſt active to bring into the Commiſſioners of Peace and into other places of authority divers notorious Delinquents in North-Wales as aforeſaid, ſo hee hath beene as active (as much as in him lyes) to put out & keepe out of the Militia and Common Counſell of *London*, and out of the Commiſſion of the peace for *Middleſex*, many eminent and faithfull men that have laid out their Eſtates and adventured their lives for the defence of the Parliament and City in the time of their greateſt neceſſity, namely Alderman *Pennington*, Col. *Tichborne*, Mr. *Eaſtwick*, Mr. *Moyer*, and others contrary to the Declaration of both Kingdomes, which hath aſſured all lawfull favour and encouragement to thoſe that have beene faithfull and ſhall ſo continue to the Parliament, which doings muſt needs tend to the giving a freſh occaſion and power to the Enemy againſt the Parliaments beſt friends, to the diſhonour of the Parliament and endangering of the Kingdome.

20. That the ſaid Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Mr. *Holles*, and Sir *William Lewis*

have by their power and countenance, as Members of the Houſe of Commons, both joyntly and ſeverally uſed meanes to obſtruct the courſe of Iuſtice, and have interpoſed themſelves in ſeverall cauſes, and by word of mouth moved and perſwaded Judges and other Officers, on the behalfe of ſuch as they conceive to be their friends amongſt others, whereas a great cauſe was lately depending in the Houſe of Lords betweene Alderman *Langham* and Captaine *Lymery*, and Counſell was met for the pleading thereof: The ſaid Sir *Philep Stapleton*, Mr. *Hollis*, and Sir *William Lewis*, did repaire to the Earle of *Rutland* about the ſame, and the ſaid Sir *Philip Stapleton* told the ſaid Earle that they (meaning himſelfe and the ſaid Mr. *Hollis* and Sir *William Lewis*) were fully ſatisfied concerning the juſtneſs of *Langhams* cauſe, and therefore as the ſaid Earl did reſpect them, the ſaid Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Mr. *Hollis*, and Sir *William Lewis*, or expected from them, he the ſaid Earl of *Rutland* ſhould give his Vote for *Langham*, or uſed words to that effect, which alſo was ſeconded by the ſaid Maſter *Hollis* in words, and agreed unto by the ſaid Sir *William Lewis*, as appeared by his preſence and geſture, and the ſaid Sir *William Lewis* did exerciſe the ſame power in a cauſe of *John Gunter* and others.

21. That the ſaid Mr. *Anthony Nicholls* (although about 4. years ſince he was (by the Committee of priviledges) Voted that he was not a Member fit to ſit in the Houſe by reaſon his election was void, yet he the ſaid Mr. *Nicholls* doth not only ſit and Vote there as a Member, but by his power and threats in the Weſt-countreyes, and by his ſolicitations and indirect practiſes hath brought in, or procured to be brought in about 28. Members more out of *Cornwall*, on purpoſe to carry on the deſignes and practiſes before mentioned, and to make a faction in the ſaid Houſe. And notwithſtanding the ſelfe-denying Ordinance, hee the ſaid Mr. *Nicholls* doth ſtill hold a place in the Tower formerly conferred upon him by the Houſe, and receiveth the profits thereof to his owne uſe.

22. That the ſaid Mr. *Nicholls* hath ſince his ſitting in the Houſe as aforeſaid, taken rewards for his ſervice done there, namely, whereas Sir *William Uvedall* Knight, for deſerting the Parliament, and going to *Yorke* with the King, was ſuſpended the Houſe. He the ſaid Mr. *Nicholls*, for the ſum of one hundred pounds, or an hundred & fifty pounds paid unto him, or to his uſe by the ſaid Sir *William Uvedall*, or ſome for him, did by miſinformations to the Houſe, procure the ſaid ſir *William Uvedall* to be readmitted a Member of the ſaid Houſe; And the ſaid Mr. *Nicholls* while he was a Member of the Committee for ſafety, he & others of the ſaid Committee, having iſſued forth a warrant for ſearching *Greenwich* houſe: he the ſaid Maſter *Nichols* did under-hand acquaint one of the Queens Officers there-

therewith, and thereby prevented the Deſigne of the ſaid Committee, to great diſſervice of the Parliament and Kingdome.

23. That the ſaid Mr. *Long*, at the beginning of the late Wars, not having courage ſufficient to performe his duty in *Militia* affairs, did out of covetouſneſſe, or other unworthy end, procure a command of a Troope of horſe, under his Excellency, the late Lord Generall, the Earle of *Eſſex*, but when ever his ſaid Troope came upon any ſervice, he the ſaid Maſter *Long* out of feare or treachery, unworthily abſented himſelfe, and never was ſeene or known to charge the Enemy in perſon, though his Troope often engaged, namely at the Battail of *Edge-hill*, when he ſaw there were like to be blows, he the ſaid Mr. *Long* left the field, and never charged before his Troop; and at the Battail, or fight at *Brainford*, though his troop were there, yet he ſtaid at *London* till the danger was paſt, and fighting done. And when his Troop was ſent into the Weſt, he took no other notice of it but to receive his pay, and in the meane while he repaired into the County of *Eſſex*, and procured a commiſſion to be a Colonel of Horſe and in ſtead of fighting againſt the Parliaments enemies, he betooke himſelfe to plunder and oppreſſe the Parliaments friends there, and contrary to Order, and without any authority, or exigencies of Warre compelling him thereunto, enforced great ſums of money, and many Horſes and other proviſions from the country, namely from Mr. *Thomas Manwood*, a man well affected, who had the Generalls protections, and (whoſe horſes were taken from his plow) and others, to the great loſſes and oppreſſion of the people, and to the great diſhonour of the Parliament, whoſe ſervice he nevertheleſſe neglected, and hath not hitherto given an accompt of the great ſums of money, and other things, that he ſo exacted of the countrey as afore-ſaid.

24. That the ſaid Maſter *Long* afterwards upon pretence of ſome loſſes ſuſtained by the enemy, and ſome great ſervice he had done for the State, did procure of the Houſe a great office in the Chancery; namely to be the chiefe Regiſter of that Court, wherein his skill was little, and whereof he was, and ſtill is altogether uncapable; and although for a time upon the ſelfe-denying Ordinance he was diſplaced; yet, upon the motion, or by the power and meanes of the ſaid Maſter *Hollis*, he hath obtained the ſame office againe to the great prejudice of skilfull Clerkes that have beene bred up in the ſaid Court, to the diſſervice of the common-wealth and the diſhonour of the Houſe.

25. That the ſaid Maſter *Long* on purpoſe to drive on the deſignes in the ſaid ſeverall charges expreſſed, hath for the ſpace of two yeares laſt paſt, uſually preſſed and urged ſeverall members to give their votes

ſuch

ſuch wayes as he pleaſed, and to that end and purpoſe doth conſtantly place himſelfe neare the doore of the Houſe, that when any debate is concerning any deſigne wherein his party is engaged, he the ſaid Maſter *Long* hath uſed much tampering and violence to ſuch of his owne party as would goe out of the Houſe, and hath perſwaded them to continue there for their Votes, and he the ſaid Mr. *Long* in caſe any ſuch have gone out of the Houſe, hath been very inquiſitive where they might be found, that ſo he may goe for them when the buſineſſe in debate comes neer to be put to the Vote; and if they come not according to his expectation, doth ordinarily and ſpeedily run out of the Houſe himſelfe to call them & drive them in again, that he hath been commonly called (by thoſe that are without the Houſe, and have taken notice of his actions) the Parliament Driver; whereby the freedome of the Members is taken from them, the manner of Parliaments proceedings much ſcandalized, and many times evill and dangerous deſignes drove on in a faction by Votes, to the great prejudice of the Common-wealth.

All which matters and things the ſaid Army ſhall and will be ready (in convenient time) to make good by proofe upon Oath, as this Honourable Houſe ſhall direct. And for that by reaſon of the ſtraitneſſe of time, and other more weighty affaires of the Army, they could not ſo fully finiſh and accompliſh the ſaid Articles, therefore the ſaid Army ſtill reſerves further liberty to adde other Articles againſt the ſaid Members or any of them at any time before their Tryall, as occaſion ſhall ſerve.

BY the appointment of his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Counſell of Warre.

Signed
John Ruſhworth, Secr.

Mr. Speaker,

HAving this day received papers from the Northern Forces, under Col. Gen. *Pointz* his command, with ſome other papers from Col. *Thornbaghs* Regiment (which is already marcht up to *Buckingham*) wherein they expreſſe their reſolutions to aſſociate themſelves with this Armie, for the more ſpeedy and happy effecting of a true, laſting, and wel grounded Peace, to the King, Parliament, and Kingdome; and in order to that, have delayed obedience to the command of many of their Officers, who for ſome reaſons beſt known to themſelves, have refuſed to joyne with them

them in their juſt deſires; and have alſo, as formerly, now againe petitioned mee to exempt them from further obedience to any other command, then what may conduce for the obtaining of the juſt deſires, and eſtabliſhment of the peace of the Kingdome, as in the incloſed papers is more fully expreſt, and further deſiring to march up ſpeedily to the Army. All which being of ſo great concernment to the Kingdome, and not well admitting delay, thought fit to repreſent unto you with ſpeed their ſeverall Papers and Deſires, that I might receive your pleaſure concerning the things they deſire, & your commands for their preſent diſpoſall; to the end they may be better kept in Diſcipline and obedience, and ſuch diſorders prevented, as by reaſon of their want of Officers they may be ſubject to run unto; and likewiſe to continue them in the North, leſt by their motion to the Army they myght draw a greater concourſe and burthen of Souldiers Quarters upon theſe parts then they will be well able to beare, and thereby the diſaffected in thoſe parts (during their abſence) may take that advantage to make inſurrections, or any diſturbance of the peace there. For the prevention whereof, and diſpoſition of the whole, as well in order to the peace of this Kingdome, as ſpeedy reliefe of *Ireland*, I ſhall humbly make bold to offer my opinion, that ſince there are many ſeverall diſtinct, and (through theſe late diſtractions) diſjoynted Forces within this Kingdome, which were ſufficient, together with this Army (being united and well mannaged) both to preſerve the peace of this Kingdom, and give preſent reliefe to *Ireland* (without putting this Kingdome to the charge of raiſing new Forces at preſent for that ſervice) That the Parliament would ſpeedily put all the Forces under one and the ſame Command, Diſcipline, and equall eſtabliſhment for future pay & maintenance, which being done, it would give much encouragement to ſome of the Forces that may be ſpared out of all the Forces mentioned from *England*, to go more cheerfully into *Ireland*, and if with this there were ſome preſent courſe taken to provide for Arrears for ſuch Forces as might be ſpared for *Ireland*, there might in probability be an effectuall reliefe ſent over into *Ireland* before this Summer be quite ſpent. All which I humbly tender to your conſideration, and deſire your ſpeedy Anſwer, that no time may be loſt in ſo good and neceſſary a work, both for the quiet of this Kingdom, and relief of *Ireland*, wherein none ſhall be more ready to expreſſe their forwardneſſe, then

Your moſt humble ſervant

Reading, July 16. 1647.

T. FAIRFAX.

Theſe ſeverall enſuing particulars, being conſidered, deb ated, and reſolved upon at a Generall Councell of Warre (his Excellency being preſent) wee the Commi lioners of the Army were appointed (in the name and behalfe of them) to preſent the ſame to your Lordſhips, and the Commiſſioners to be tendred with all ſpeed to the Parliament; *which wee accordingly offer and deſire your ſpeedy care therein; That ſo an Anſwer (according to the deſire and expectation of the Army) may be ſpeedily returned to theſe Particulars.*

1. THat there be an effectuall Declaration forthwith publiſhed to the whole Kingdome, againſt the inviting, bringing or comming in of any forraine Forces, under any pretence whatſoever.

2. That the Army may be paid up equall with the Deſertors thereof, according to the late Votes of Parliament: And that the Army may forthwith be put into a conſtant courſe of pay, that they may not be ſo burdenſome and oppreſſive to the Countrey; for the more ſpeedy performance whereof; Wee deſire, that the Houſe of Peers would be pleaſed to concurre with the deſires of the Houſe of Commons, (ſo often propoſed to them) for the reviving of the Committee for the Army, that ſo the Aſſeſſements and great ſummes in Arrears, both in the City and elſewhere, may be by their indeavour collected for the ſpeedy and neceſſary ſupply of the Army: and alſo, that the Treaſurers, and the Committee of Weavers-Hall, may be ſpeedily called to accompt, in what manner, and by what Warrant the two hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, lately intruſted in their hands, have been in ſo ſhort a time conſumed.

3. That the Militia of the City of *London*, and the Committee of the ſame, may conſiſt of ſuch perſons, and ſpeedily be returned into thoſe hands, who formerly during the worſt of times, have therein given large Teſtimonies of their fidelity to the Parliament and Kingdome: which beſides the reall ſecurity, will be to the Parliament and Kingdome in preventing of dangers repreparing towards a new Warre, would conduce ſo much to the remooving of jealouſies, and give ſuch a ground of confidence to the army, as that wee might the better diſpoſe it to larger Quarters in ſeverall parts, for the eaſe of the Countrey.

Reading 18. *July* 1647.

By the appointment of the Commiſſioners for the Army.

William Clarke.

According

According to and in purſuance of the particular mentioned under the fifth Head of the Repreſentation of the Army, we doe earneſtly deſire:

THat all perſons impriſoned in *England*, or Dominion of *Wales*, (not for Delinquency in relation to the late Warre, but for other pretended miſdemeanors) and whoſe impriſonment is not by the Regulated Courſe of law, but by Order from either Houſes of Parliament, (or of Committees flowing from them) may be put into a ſpeedy Regular and equitable way of tryall, or (if the neceſſitie of ſetling the generall affaires of the Kingdome admit not their preſent tryall) then they may have preſent liberty (upon reaſonable ſecurity) for their appearance at a certaine day, to anſwer what ſhall be charged againſt them in a legall way. And that when they ſhould be tryed, if they appeare wrongfully, or unduly impriſoned, they may have reparation according to their ſufferings.

In particular, wee deſire this may be done in behalfe of Lieutenant Colonel *John Lilbourne*, Mr. *Muſgrave*, Mr. *Overton*, and others (in their condition) impriſoned in and about *London*

Reading July 18.
1647.

By the Appointment of his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and his Councell of Warre.

Signed,
John Ruſhworth.

A Letter to the Lord Major, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Counſell, of the City of LONDON.

My Lord and Gentlemen;

IN the carying on of the great buſineſſe of the Kingdome towards a generall and happy ſettlement, it hath been a fixed principle with us to make it our firſt endeavour with the *Parliament*, that all things which threaten an engagement of the Kingdom in a ſecond Warr, might be removed before we could have a confident expectation of a good iſſue; upon a Treaty with their Commiſſioners, which courſe of ours,

although it might have ſome appearance of delay : yet by men that are zealous of the Kingdomes good (we hope) no endeavour will be judged unneceſſary, that may ſecure the Kingdome from the danger of auy new imbroylements.

Wee are now come thus farr, that the moſt materiall particulars which we have in preparation to propoſe, for the generall ſettlement of the affaires of the Kingdome, have bin communicated to the *Parliaments* Commiſſioners; and we hope they are ſatisfied, that they containe in them things tending to a generall good, and to lay an hopefull Foundation for common Right, and Freedome, to the people of this Land for future; and for a laſting peace amongſt us. But before we can ſecurely intend and without interruption apply our ſelves, unto the proceedings and diſpatch of the Treaty, there upon wee have delivered into the hands of their Commiſſioners, the Paper which conſiſts of three particulars, in the laſt whereof (which is the Militia of the City) you being moſt immediately concerned, to the end you may ſee we would aske nothing which relates to you, without giving you a juſt account thereof, and all poſſible ſatisfaction therein; we have alſo given a Coppy thereof to your Commiſſioners, to be herewith ſent unto you. Wee ſhould not deſire this, or any thing elſe of that nature, were wee not perſwaded that what we deſire is ſeaſonable, and for yours and the Kingdomes good and quiet. And we ſhould willingly have been ſilent (as to this) but conſidering the juſt jealouſies which lye againſt ſome perſons, now authorized in the exerciſe of that power amongſt you, and thoſe attempts which have been made by ſome, who would have engaged, your City, to a Warre, had not your Lordſhips and the Court of Aldermen and Common-Counſell, by your wiſedome prevented it, by getting thoſe Votes which were paſſed by the Militia, made *Null*; Wee cannot in a caſe of this importance but deale freely with you, in deſiring your concurrence with ours to the *Parliament*; that the Militia may be changed into thoſe hands, out of which it was taken, of whoſe care and fidelity to the Publicke, there hath been ſo long and large experience, as few ages have paralleld. And if the intereſt we have ſo long fought for be ſtill the ſame, let it not ſeeme ſtrange that we deſire both of the Parliament and City, that thoſe may be in places of ſuch a Truſt, who have given the beſt proofe of their courage and conſtancy in proſecution of the ſame.

Having thus farre declared our ſelves with all freedom and clearneſſe to you, as we doe not dobut of your good acceptance of our intention therein, ſo we deſire your forwardneſſe in a worke ſo much tending to mutuall confidence; and to prevent the deſignes of any who would be glad

glad to put obſtructions in the way to a happy concluſion, and envy nothing more then the continuance of a right underſtanding betweene you and us.

Reading, July 19. 1647.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, *and the Councell of Warre.*

Signed, *John Ruſhworth*, Secr.

A further Propoſall from his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, *and the Counſell of Warre of the Army under his Command.*

WHereas divers perſons really affected to the weale and peace of this Kingdome (many whereof have engaged their eſtates and lives with the Parliament in the late warre) are now impriſoned, indicted, and otherwiſe very grievouſly vexed (and many others lyable to the like trouble) by force or pretence of ſeverall Statutes (eſpecially intended) againſt thoſe who repaire not to ſome Church or Chappell to heare the Book of Common-prayer, or againſt thoſe who are Popiſh Recuſants, and by their not going to Church might be diſcovered: and againſt thoſe who ſhould hold any Conventicles of meetings to plot and conſpire ſome miſchiefe to the State. Now foraſmuch as the Parliament hath declared againſt the Booke of Common-prayer, and that the ſaid Act againſt the *Conventicles*, was not intended againſt people meeting only for Religious Exerciſes: We therefore deſire, That all perſons proceeded againſt upon the Statutes of 35. *Eliz.* 3. *Jacobi*, or upon any other Statutes or Acts whatſoever of the ſame Tenour with the premiſes, may be forth-with diſcharged from their impriſonments, indictments, or any other moleſtation whatſoever, by vertue of the fore-mentioned Statutes, unleſſe ſuch perſons ſhall be proved either Popiſh Recuſants (& that by ſome other way then by their not comming to Church) or to have in ſuch private meetings as aforeſaid ſome perjurious deſigne, conſpiracy and practice againſt the State.

And for a more effectuall courſe herein, We deſire that the Parliament would be pleaſed to give Orders accordingly to all the Judges of Aſſizes for this next Circuit throughout the Kingdome of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales* (as part of their Inſtructions) to acquit all perſons ſuffering

as aforesaid, by vertue, or under pretence of the said Statutes, otherwise then as before excepted: & to give the whole matter so in charge, that all Justices of the Peace, & whom else the same shall concerne, may not henceforth attempt to bring the like trouble upon any other of the well-affected people of this Kingdome, under the like pretence, as they will answer the contrary at their perill.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, *and his Councell of Warre.*

Redding, July 21. 1647.

Signed, *John Rushworth*, Secr.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WEe received this inclosed paper the last night, from the hands of a very well-affected Citizen, it was delivered him by an Officer of the City *Militia*, who being invited to meet some Citizens at Skinners Hall upon Wednesday last, with divers others to signe the same, and offering to dispute against the matter of it, to shew how dangerous and illegall it was, was silenc't and told that it was not to be disputed, but to be signed and joyned in, there being divers Citizens and others at the same place for that purpose, which when he understood, he tooke this printed copy away with him.

By the contents of which when you read it, you will easily perceive what it tends to, and how desperate and dangerous it is to the hazard of the whole Kingdome, and to frustrate all those endeavours of the Parliament, the Army and Kingdome for an happy settlement, and likewise to precipitate all into a new and bloudy Warre, we cannot therefore but acquaint you that we looke on this as a businesse set on foote by the malice of some desperate minded men, this being their last Engine for the putting all into confusion, when they could not accompliſh their wicked ends by other means. To this have all secret liftings tended, and wee wish that the needlesse and superfluous lifting of Auxiliaries and connivance at the continuance of the Reformadoes about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, have not had the same aime, and by this wee hope it will appeare that our jealousies and feares of some such desperate designe to be hatched in and about the City (considering the temper of men there) have not bin grounDless, nor our desires to draw neer the City of *London* with the army to disappoint and break all such plots, and to free the Parliament from the violence of them, have not been without just cause, and wee desire all indifferent

different men to judge whether our with-drawing from the Citie in obedience to the Parliaments command was for their & the Kingdoms ſecurity or not: we wonder that divers men did calumniate, that our marching ſo near the City, and put ſo bad Repreſentations upon it, as that it tended to force the Parliament, or to plunder the City: ſeeing our doing ſo, was to break that black deſign which now begins to ſhew it ſelfe in its colours, whereas indeed our conſciences witneſs with us, that our aimes were clear and honeſt, tending to reſtore the Parliament into its juſt liberty, which was much abated in the eyes of all the Kingdome, and no doubt by the Authors and contrivers of this new Covenant and engagement; ſome whereof have been ſo farre from aſſiſting to put the Reformadoes and other dangerous perſons out of the Lines, that now they are called to joyn in this conſpiracy: we intreat you to give the Parliament a full repreſentation of theſe things, which that you may do; we have ſent you the Papers, together with ſuch informations as may give them an oportunity to diſcover the bottom of this buſineſs, we were marching from *London* (when wee received this information) in obedience to the Parliament, and to give the City more content, and to ſtop the mouths of ſlanderers; But if ſuch Deſigns, ſo deſtructive to the Parliament, & the work in hand be ſuffered to goe on, or that the Parliament be interrupted in the freedom of their debates and proceedings as we hear within theſe few daies they were, by thoſe that are invited to partake in this confederacy: We beg it of the Parliament, as they tender their own ſafety, the peace of the Kingdom, and preventing of a ſecond Warre, as they would not have the Kingdome loſe the fruit and benefit of all the bloud and treaſure that hath been ſpent in this cauſe, that they would not ſuffer their freedome and liberty to be endangered by ſuch deſigns as theſe, they having an Army which by the bleſſing of God, in ſpight of all that theirs and the Kingdomes enemies can do, will ſtand and fall with them, and be found faithfull and obedient to them in all things, and as ready to relieve *Ireland* when the Peace and rights of this Kingdome are ſetled: We write not this to deſire the Parliament to invite us to march up to them, wee care not how great a a diſtance we are from *London*, if it be the Parliaments pleaſure, and conſiſts with their ſecurity, and the breaking of thoſe combinations which are hatcht in the bowels of the City, wee are haſtening our Propoſalls which are for the generall ſettlement, and which (we are confident) will ſatisfie all that love truth and peace: but wee ſee plainly, wee need more to intend ſecurity, then have cauſe to expect to bring things to an happy iſſue by Treaty, while ſuch deſigns are on foote: Wee pray you therefore that the Parliament would ſpeedily and throughly enquire into,

and

and break theſe deſignes wherein as in all things elſe, we ſhall be ready to ſerve them as they ſhall judge it needfull, and when they ſhall command us.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, *and his Councell of Warre.*

Alisbury, July 23. 1647.

Signed. *John Ruſhworth*, Secr.

BY a printed paper come to our hands this day (a Copie whereof you receive herewith) we ſtill find, and clearly and evidently perceive that ſome evill ſpirits within the City of *London*, malicioufly diſ-affected to the peace of this Kingdom, doe ſecretly and wickedly endeavour to bring about that miſchief upon the Kingdom which we have ſo much feared, and by all our ſeverall addreſſes unto you ſought to prevent; which indeed are of that dangerous conſequence as we can expect no other iſſue from, then the unavoydable engaging the Kingdom in a ſecond Warre, if not timely and effectually prevented by your wiſedome and diligence. Wee muſt further obſerve unto you, that whatſoever deſignes intended in the fore-ſaid paper, is contrary to the authority of Parliament, and indirect oppoſition to the proceedings of the army (wch the two Houſes have owned as theirs and approved of their fidelity by committing the forces of the Kingdome of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Iſlands of *Garnſey* and *Jerſey*, under the Generalls care and command) and therefore cannot be effected, but by force of armes againſt the Parliament and their Armies, which in probability may involve the whole Kingdome in bloud; but muſt neceſſarily begin within your own bowels, and draw the Seate and miſery of war upon you and your City.

Alſo we deſire you would conſider, whether wee have not juſt cauſe to ſuſpect that an evill party lurkes within the City ready to diſtemper it and the whole Kingdom upon every occaſion, and whether it be probable ſuch perſons deſire a happy cloſe between the King and the Parliament (at leaſt ſuch as will be for the Kingdoms good) when they take upon them the boldneſſe to make new offers to his Majeſty with ſolemne engagements to make good the ſame, during the time that this Parl. had given us leave to make tender of, and treate with their Commiſſioners about thoſe things which tend to a general ſettlement. And therforewe cannot but deſire, that you would take a ſpeedy courſe timely to ſuppreſſe this great evill, and to prevent all of this nature for the future, and by making ſome of thoſe examples who have been active to carry on this buſineſſe: wee have not had time to enquire into particulars, but ſhall give you only one inſtance of a meeting

meeting at *Skinners Hall* concerning this buſineſſe, where ſome perſons have been very active, (the names of ſome of whom we have given to your Commiſſioners) and alſo the names of other Citizens who will teſtifie their carriage there.

Laſtly, we cannot but deſire you to concur with us in our deſires to the Parliament, to put the *Militia* into the hands of thoſe that had it before; without which wee can have no aſſurance that the City will be free from deſigns of this nature, nor can we expect to ſee a happy Cloſe.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax *and his Councell of Warre.*
Signed, *John Ruſhworth.*

Alisbury, July 23. 1647.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Major, the right Worſhipfull the Aldermen and Commons of the City of *London*, in the Common or Guild-hall of the City of London aſſembled.

The humble Petition of the Citizens, Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, the young men and Apprentices of the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, Sea-Commanders, Sea-men and Watermen, together with with divers other Commanders, Officers and Souldiers within the Line of Communication, and Pariſhes, mentioned in the Weekely Bill of Mortality,

Sheweth,

THat your Petitioners (taking into ſerious conſideration how Religion, his Majeſties Honour & ſafety, the priviledges of Parliament, & liberties of the Subjects are at preſent greatly endangered, and like to be deſtroyed, and alſo ſadly weighing with our ſelves, what meanes might likely prove the moſt effectuall, to procure a firme and laſting Peace, without a further effuſion of Chriſtian Engliſh bloud, have therefore entred into a ſolemne engagement which is hereunto annexed, and do humbly and earneſtly deſire, that this whole City may joyne together by all lawfull and poſſible meanes as one man, in hearty endeavours for his Majeſties preſent comming up to his two Houſes of Parliament, with Honour, ſafety, and freedome, (and that without the neerer approach of the Army) there to confirme ſuch things as he hath granted in his Meſſage of the twelfth of May laſt, in anſwer to the Propoſitions of both Kingdomes, and that by a Perſonall Treaty with His two Houſes of Parliament, and the Commiſſioners of the Kingdome of Scotland, *ſuch things as yet are in d ff. rence may be ſpeedily ſetled, and a firme and laſting Peace eſtabliſhed; All which we deſire may be preſented to both houſes of Parliament from this honourable Aſſembly.*

And wee ſhall pray.

A ſolemne engagement of the Citizens, Commanders, Officers and Souldiers of the Trained bands & Auxiliaries, the young men and Prentices of the Cities of London *&* Weſtminſter, *Sea Commanders, Sea-men & Watermen, together with divers others, the Commanders, Officers and ſouldiers within the lines of Communication, and Pariſhes mentioned in the Weekly Bill of Mortality.*

WHereas we have entered into a ſolemne League and Covenant, for Reformation and defence of Religion, the honour and happineſs of the King, and the peace & ſafety of the 3. Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, all which we do iminently perceive not only to be endangered, but ready to be deſtroyed; we do therefore in purſuance of our ſaid Covenant, oath of Allegiance, oath of every Free-man of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and proteſtation ſolemnly ingage our ſelves, & vow unto Almighty God, that we will to the utmoſt of our power, cordially endeavour that His Majeſty may ſpeedily come to his 2. Houſes of Parliament, with Honour, ſafety, and freedom, (and that without the neerer aproach of the Army) there to confirm ſuch things as he hath granted in his Meſſage of the 12. of *May* laſt, in anſwer to the Propoſitions of both Kingdoms, & that by a Perſonall Treaty with his 2. Houſes of Parliament, and the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſuch things as yet are in difference may be ſpeedily ſetled, & a firm & laſting peace eſtabliſhed, for the effecting hereof we do proteſt and reobliege our ſelves as in the preſence of God the ſearcher of all hearts, with our lives and fortunes, to indeavour what in us lie to preſerve and defend His Majeſties Royall Perſon, and authority, the priviledges of Parliament, and liberty of the Subject in their full and conſtant freedom, the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, lines of *Communication*, and Pariſhes mentioned in the weekly Bill of Mortality, and all others that ſhall adhere with us to the ſaid Covenant, and oath of Allegiance, oath of every Free-man of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Proteſtation. Nor ſhall we by any meanes admit, ſuffer, or endure any neutrality in this common cauſe of God, the King, and Kingdome as we do expect the bleſſing of Almighty God, whoſe help we crave, and wholly devolve our ſelves upon in this our undertaking.

I Doe hereby require the chiefe Officer preſent with every Troope and Company, to make ſtrict enquiry what Cavalliers have been liſted & entertained in their Troopes or Companies, ſince the Muſter preceeding the laſt Muſter; And that all ſuch chiefe Officers ſhall preſently upon ſuch enquiry as before, put forth of their Troopes or Companies of ſuch Cavalliers as they ſhall find in their Troopes or companies,

panies from such Musters (as before) And before they receive any pay upon this last Muster, they shall expunge all such Cavalliers out of their Muster Rolls, as they shall have put out of their Troops or Companies. And if it shall hereafter appear (that any chiefe Officer present with their Troop or Company) shall neglect to put forth, or cashiere such Cavalliers in manner as before, or receive any for the time to come upon proofe thereof made, he shall be lyable to a Councell of War, and be accordingly proceeded against.

Given under my Hand the 21. of *July*, 1647.

Tho: Fairfax.

For the Commissioners of Parliament residing with the Army.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HAving resolved upon this inclosed dispatch from the City of *London*, I thought it my part to give you an account of it, and to give you all assurance that my heart is deeply affected with the late carriages toward the Parliament. And how-ever others have neglected their duty towards them for their security and defence; yet as God shall enable me, it shall be my great businesse to improve all that is in my hand for the preserving of them, and in them the interest of this Nation. And what construction soever some formerly may have put upon the proceedings of this Army: I trust the Lord will by his good hand lead us into such good actions as shal witnesse our end answerable to all our professions, to wit, for the good of the Kingdom, and thereinto be an effectuall saving to great authority of the Kingdome in the Parliament. I rest,

Tedford, July 29. 1647. *Your most assured friend,*
Tho. Fairfax.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common Councell of the City of London.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

YOu may please to remember the forward complyance of this Army with your desires, to remove to this distance, and that upon the

aſſurance you gave them of your concurrence with their declared deſires, for the ſetling the liberty and peace of this Kingdom, (againſt which you never yet offered us one exception, or any ground of diſſent) as alſo of your great tenderneſſe and reſolution to ſecure the Parliament and their Priviledges, from any violence or attempt, the chiefe reaſon given us of your late liſting of new forces, and wherein we did moſt acquieſce.

That upon this confidence we had diſpoſed the Army into ſeverall parts of the Kingdom; for the eaſe of the whole, to above 100. miles diſtance: we had given up our ſelves to the effecting of ſuch propoſalls as might tend to the comfortable ſettlement of this poor Kingdom, and we were in a hopefull way for the ſpeedy reliefe of *Ireland*.

We cannot then but be deepely ſenſible of the unparalled violation acted upon the Parliament, upon *Monday* laſt, by a rude multitude from your City, becauſe therein (the guards ſent from the City did not only neglect their duty for the ſecurity of the Parliament from ſuch violence, and the whole Citie to yeild any reliefe to the houſes in that extreamity, but I am aſſured from eye & ear-witneſſes, that divers of the Common-councell gave great encouragement to it, which doth not only gain-ſay your former profeſſions, but does violence to thoſe many obligations that (by your Charter, Proteſtation, and ſundry other wayes) lye upon you to protect the Parliament.

For my part I cannot but look on your ſelves (who are in authority) as accountable to the Kingdome, for your preſent interruptions of that hopefull way of Peace and ſettlement, things were in for this Nation, and of relieving *Ireland*, occaſioned by the late Treaſonable and deſtructive engagement: Eſpecially the lately prodigious and horrid force done upon the Parliament, tending to diſſolve all government, upon which ſcore we and the whole Kingdom ſhall have cauſe to put every thing of the like nature that may happen to the Parliament, or to any who are friends to them and this Armie, except by your wiſedom, care, and induſtry, the chiefe acters in the Premiſſes may be detected, ſecured and given up to the procuring of juſtice for the ſame, and the beſt endeavours uſed to prevent the like for the future. And ſo I reſt,

Bedford, 29. July, 1647.

Your moſt aſſured friend to ſerve you,

Tho. Fairfax.

A Declaration of *William Lenthall* Eſquire, Speaker of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

ALthough it may happily be contrary to the expectation of ſome, that I attend not the ſervice of the Houſe of Commons at this time, as I have conſtantly done for almoſt 7. years laſt paſt, yet can it not be reaſonably expected by any that well conſider the violence offered to both Houſes of Parliament, and to my ſelfe in particular on *Monday* laſt, inſomuch that I can ſafely take it upon my conſcience, and ſo I doubt not may all the Members of both Houſes alſo, they ſate in continuall feare of their lives, and by terrour thereof were compelled to paſſe ſuch Votes as it pleaſed an unruly multitude to force upon them; which as I did then openly declare in the Houſe, ſo I cannot but believe that they are all void, and null, being extorted by force and violence, and in that manner that they were, and I cannot any longer diſpence with my ſelfe to be an inſtrument in paſſing ſuch Votes, or to give any colour or ſhadow of Parliamentary authority unto them, which are not the Votes of the repreſentative body of the Kingdom, but of a tumultuous multitude as thoſe muſt needs be accompted, that ſeemed to paſſe the Houſe on *Monday* laſt, & which ſhall paſſe hereafter untill better proviſion be made for the ſafe and free ſitting of the Houſes of Parliament, there being no effectuall courſe taken by the City ſince the laſt adjournment of the Houſes to prevent the like tumults for the future, no nor ſo much as a Declaration from them to ſhew their diſlike thereof, but on the contrary it is generally voyced in the Town, that there will be a far greater confluence of Apprentices, Reformadoes, and others, on *Friday* at the Parliament doors; and particularly notice was given to me, that after they had made the Houſe vote what they pleaſed, they would deſtroy me; I had likewiſe information given mee, that there would be a great number of Apprentices of a contrary Opinion & affections, to the other about the Parliament doors on *Friday* morning, which I fore-ſaw muſt of neceſſity cauſe a great combuſtion, and in probability occaſion much bloud-ſhed; the preventing of which miſchiefs, together with the conſiderations afore-ſaid, have weighed more with mee then any thing which may concern my particular, and eſpecially having ſerved the Houſe faithfully and diligently for the ſpace of very neere ſeven years, in a true and Parliamentary way of proceedings, that I might not now be made a ſervant to ſuch a multitude to transfer upon them the colour of Parliamentary authority, therewithall to abuſe and deceive the

minds, and to destroy the lives, liberties, and estates of the people of this Kingdom; And having taken a solemn Protestation and Covenant in my place and calling to maintain the priviledges of Parliament, & the rights and liberties of the Subjects, I could not now satisfie my selfe, but by absenting my selfe at this time, rather then by my presence to give any shadow or countenance of the authority of Parliament to such apparent violations thereof; neither can the omission of a circumstance, or some formality in the adjournment of the House, (when through force and violence it cannot meet and sit in any sort as a Parliament) be any prejudice to the future meeting and proceedings thereof, when it may meet and sit again as a free Parliament, it being well known that nothing can dissolve this Parliament but an Act of Parliament.

When a company of Apprentices, Reformadoes and others, shall call the Ordinances of Parliament pretended Ordinances, shall lock the doors of the houses upon them, shall sweare not to let them out till they had passed what they pleased concerning the *Militia* of *London*, and other things, (though the Houses had immediately before voted otherwise) shall threaten the Houses in case they did not instantly satisfie their demands; shall knock, whoot, and hollow continually at the Parliament doore that the Members could not be heard to speak or debate; and after that the House of Commons had passed a Vote concerning the *Militia* of *London*, and that the Speaker by the Vote had judged the major part to be for the Negative, shall not suffer the House to be divided, but in a threatning way require those that gave their votes against them to come out to them if they would; when after the House was adjourned, they shall by main force thrust backe the Speaker again into the House, and force the Members in their presence and sight (divers of them thrusting into the House to vote what they demanded, when they shall justly pull and hale the Speaker all the way hee went down to his Coach, and force him to avoid their violence to betake himselfe to the next coach he could get into for refuge, when they shall breath forth bloudy threats against the Members as they came out of the House, and since against me in particular at the next meeting of the House (as I am credibly informed) & when there is no appearance, but that they will continue to doe as formerly they have done, or far worse, on *Friday*, I could not in discharge of my Trust, Protestation, and Covenant, sit in the Chaire of the House of Commons whilst it shall be in such a condition: but so soon as it may sit again in freedom and safety, I shall be ready to attend the service thereof; but till then as I have upon the fore-mentioned grounds, fully satisfied my own conscience, so I doubt not but I shall give the whole Kingdom (whose interest is most concerned in it) ample satisfaction in the necessity of my absence. *William Lenthall*, Speaker.

For

For his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and his Councell of WARRE.

Right Honourable,

BY thoſe of our Committee which came from you this day, we underſtand your Excellencies & your Honorable Councell of War, their expectation to be poſſeſſed of all Forts from *Giles* fort, and that to be one down unto the River ſide by ſix of the clock this Evening. And we take notice for what reaſons your Excellency is led to inſiſt thereupon. For our parts that we may manifeſt how ready wee are to comply with all things which may beget a good underſtanding, wee have readily conſented therunto, as far as the cognizance thereof belongs to this court, & have given directions accordingly to the Committee of the *Militia*, for drawing off all Forces and Ordnance, unto which work they do now inſtantly apply themſelves, and we are confident your Excellency will finde performance acordingly. The Committee of *Militia* will alſo give order for quitting ſuch Forts on *Southwark* ſide, as are not as yet in poſſeſſion of your Forces. And now next unto Almighty God we doe rely upon your Excellencies honourable word for our ſafety, and to be protected from all violence of the Souldiery.

4. *Auguſt*, 1647. *Michel.*

For the Right Honourable the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councell of the City of *London*.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

I Am very glad to find ſo ready a complyance in anſwer to my laſt deſire ſent to the Common-Councell, and have accordingly given order for 3. Regiments of Foot and two of Horſe, to poſſeſſe thoſe Forts you mentioned in your laſt, and to lie thereabouts; I am with the reſt of the Army marched up to *Hammerſmith*, in order to the ſecurity of the Lords and Commons, who I ſuppoſe will to morrow ſit in Parliament, the preſerving of their priviledges, and ſecuring them from violence, that with freedome they may ſit to diſcharge their truſts, hath been the cauſe of my neer approach to your Citie; And whereas you are pleaſed to expreſſe your hopes of preſervation from violence, you may be confident nothing ſhall paſſe from this Armie, but what ſhall be for the

ſafety

ſafety of your City : And I doubt not, though ſome diſ-affected perſons to the peace of this Kingdom have endeavoured to beget a miſunderſtanding betweene this Army and the City, hoping thereby to embroyle the Kingdome in new troubles : Yet that this Army may always behave themſelves as to witneſſe to the world the integrity of their hearts, in having no other deſign but the quiet and happy ſettlement of a firm and laſting peace, wherein both the whole Kingdom, and your Citie in particular wil havecauſe to rejoyce in the goodneſſe of God: the accompliſhment whereof will truly glad the hearts of this Army, and in particular of

Auguſt 5. 1647.

Your moſt humble Servant,

Tho: Fairfax.

A Declaration from His Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and his Councell of Warre.

Concerning the Propoſalls of the Armie for ſetling of a Peace, and the grounds of publiſhing the heads thereof.

SInce our drawing back to *Reading*, we have applyed our ſelves with all diligence to frame, and haſten an intire body of all the particular propoſals, which we would tender to the Commiſſioners of Parliament reſiding with the Army, to be treated on in purſuance of thoſe generall deſires, expreſt in our former Declarations & Papers, for the ſecuring of the common rights and liberties, and a preſent ſetling of the peace of the Kingdom. In which buſineſſe, (notwithſtanding the many interruptions and diſturbances, with daily advertiſements of the indirect and treacherous practiſes and preparations of the Committee of *Militia*, and others in and about the City of *London*, and elſe-where tending to a new War, have occaſioned, to the diverting or retarding of our proceeding therein, yet,) we have made a progreſſe as ſpeedy as the nature and weight of ſuch a work would admit, and having finiſhed the ſame, we have delivered in an abſtract of the Heads thereof unto the ſaid Commiſſioners of Parliament to be treated upon.

But

But the late pernicious Engagement ſet on foote in the Citie, and (much more,) that prodigious violence done to both Houſes of Parliament on Munday laſt, having wholly taken us off for preſent, and rendred all proceeding in the way of Treaty thereupon meerely vaine and hopeleſſe, untill it ſhall pleaſe God, the Parliament be righted and vindicated againſt that violation done to it, and reſtored into a condition of freedome, ſo as the unqueſtioned Members of it may repaire together with ſafetie, and proceed according to their juſt freedome. Wee have thought good in the meane time to make this publique tender of the Heads of the Propoſalls to the Conſideration of the whole Kingdome, wherein though all circumſtances requiſite to be determined in an actuall ſettlement, be not ſo fully and perfectly expreſſed, as upon the Treaty intended (if not interrupted, as before,) they might ſpeedily have been, yet all men may ſee and underſtand in theſe the effect and bottome of our deſires, whereupon wee have ſincerely ſtudied, that a preſent peace might be ſetled; which ſame thing, (with and after ſuch vindication of the Parliament, as may againe render it into a capacitie to eſtabliſh the ſame,) wee ſhall ſtill faithfully endeavour to the utmoſt of our powers, and accordingly ſhall expect the chearfull and hearty concurrence of all thoſe who are or ſhall be ſatisfied, concerning the integrity of our intentions to the peace and welfare of the Kingdome in theſe Propoſalls, or who ſhall (for the maine) deſire or approve of the ſame things with us in order to a ſettlement.

And to theſe Propoſalls which wee here firſt tender as neceſſary to a Peace, and upon which wee deſire the ſeale of peace, (in the reſtitution of his Majeſty and others to their Rights, and in an Act of Oblivion to be paſt,) wee cannot but adde the further expreſſion of our deſires in ſome other particulars, which (though not ſo eſſentiall to peace, as neceſſarily to precede the ſetling of it, yet) being matters of very publique, and (moſt of them) of generall grievance to the Kingdome (which wee every where finde the Out-cryes of,) and being contained in, or purſuance of the ſame things expreſſed in our former Repreſentations, and Papers: Wee ſhall deſire, that (the Parliament being ſet free) no time may be loſt for a ſpeedy Conſideration of them, ſo as the former things for the preſent ſetling of peace be not delayed thereby.

Colbrooke Auguſt 2.
1647.

Signed by the Appointment of his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Councell of Warre.

Jo: Ruſhworth, Secretary.

The Heads of the PROPOSALLS agreed upon by his *Exᶜⁱᵉ* Sir THO: FAIRFAX, and the Councell of the Army, to be tendred to the Commiſſioners of Parliament, reſiding with the Army, and *with them to be treated on by the Commiſſioners of the Army.*

Containing the particulars of their deſires in purſuance of their former Declarations and Papers: In order to the clearing and ſecuring of the Rights and Liberties of *the Kingdome, and the ſetling a juſt and laſting peace.*

To which are added ſome further particular deſires (for the removing and redreſſing of divers preſent preſſing grievances) being *alſo comprized in, or neceſſary purſuance of their former Repreſentations and Papers appointed to be Treated upon.*

1. THat (the things hereafter propoſed, being provided for by this Parliament) a certain period may (by Act of Parliament) be ſet for the ending of this Parliament, (ſuch period to be within a yeare at moſt,) and in the ſame Act proviſion to be made for the ſucceſſion and conſtitution of Parliaments in future as followeth.

1. THat *Parliaments* may Biennially be called, and meet at a certain day, with ſuch proviſion for the certainty thereof, as in the late Act was made for *Trienniall-Parliaments*, and what further or other proviſion ſhall be found needfull by the *Parliament*, to reduce it to more certainty; and upon the paſſing of this, the ſaid Act for *Trienniall-Parliaments* to be repealed.

2. Each Bienniall *Parliament* to ſit 120. dayes certain (unleſſ adjourned, or diſſolved ſooner by their own conſent) afterwards to b adjournable or diſſolveable by the King; and no *Parliament* to ſit paſt 240. dayes, from their firſt meeting or ſome other limited number of dayes now to be agreed on: upon the expiration whereof, each *Parliament* to diſſolve of courſe, if not otherwiſe diſſolved ſooner.

3. The

3. The King upon advice of the Councell of State in the interualls betwixt *Biennial-Parliaments*, to call a *Parliament* extraordinary, provided it meet above seventie dayes before the next Biennial day, and be dissolved at least sixtie dayes before the same, so as the course of Biennial-elections may never bee interrupted.

4. That this *Parliament* and each succeeding *Biennial-Parliament*, at, or before adjournment, or dissolution thereof, may appoint Committees to continue during the intervall, for such purposes as are in any of these Propositions referr'd to such Committees.

5. That the Elections of the Commons for succeeding *Parliaments*, may be distributed to all Counties, or other parts or divisions of the Kingdome, according to some rule of equality or proportion, so as all Counties may have a number of *Parliament* Members allowed to their choice, proportionable to the respective Rates they beare in the common charges, and burthens of the Kingdome, according to some other rule of equallity or proportion, to render the House of Commons, (as neere as may be) an equall Representative of the whole, and in order thereunto, that a present consideration be had to take off the Elections of Burgesses, for poore decayed, or inconsiderable Townes, and to give some present addition to the number of *Parliament*-Members for great Counties, that have now lesse then their due proportion, to bring all (at present) as neere as may be, to such a rule of proportion, as aforesaid.

6. That effectuall provision be made for future freedome of Elections, and certainty of due returnes.

7. That the House of Commons alone have the power from time to time, to set downe further orders and rules for the ends expressed in the two last preceding Articles, so as to reduce the Elections of Members for that House, to more and more perfection of equality in the distribution, freedome in the Election, order in the proceeding thereto, and certainty in the Returnes, which orders and rules (in that case) to be as Lawes.

8. That there be a liberty for entering dissents in the House of Commons with provision, that no Member be censurable for ought said or voted in the House, further then to exclusion from that trust, and that onely by the judgement of the House it selfe.

9. That the judiciall power, or power of finall Judgement in the Lords and Commons (and their power of Exposition and Application of Law) (without further appeale) may be cleared: And that no Officer of Justice, Minister of State, or other person adjudged by them, may be capable of Protection, or pardon from the King, without their advice and consent.

10. That the Right and libertie of the Commons of *England*, may be cleared and vindicated, as to a due Exemption from any Judgement, Triall, or other proceeding againſt them by the Houſe of Peeres, without the concurring Judgement of the Houſe of Commons. As alſo from any other judgement, ſentence, or proceeding againſt them, other then by their equalls, or according to the Law of the Land.

11. The ſame Act to provide, that grand Jury-men may be choſen by, and for ſeverall parts or diviſions of each County reſpectively, in ſome equall way (and not remaine as now at the diſcretion of an under-Sheriffe, to be put on or off;) And that ſuch Grand Jury-men for their reſpective Counties, may at each Aſſize preſent the names of perſons to be made Juſtices of Peace, from time to time, as the Countrey hath need for any to be added to the Commiſſion, and at the ſummer Aſſize to preſent the names of three perſons, out of whom the King may prick one to be Sheriffe for the next yeare.

II. For the future ſecurity to Parliaments, and the Militia in generall in order thereunto, that it be provided by Act of Parliament.

1. *That the power of the* Militia *by Sea and Land, during the ſpace of ten yeares next enſuing, ſhall be ordered and diſpoſed by the Lords and Commons Aſſembled, and to be Aſſembled in the Parliament or Parliaments of* England, *or by ſuch perſons as they ſhall nominate and appoint for that purpoſe from time to time during the ſaid ſpace.*

2. *That the ſaid power ſhall not be ordered, diſpoſed, or exerciſed by the Kings Majeſty that now is, or by any perſon or perſons by any Authority derived from him during the ſaid ſpace, or at any time hereafter by his ſaid Majeſty, without the advice and conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, or of ſuch Committees, or Councell in the intervals of Parliament, as they ſhall appoint.*

3. *That during the ſame ſpace of ten yeares, the ſaid Lords and Commons may by Bill or Ordinance raiſe and diſpoſe of what moneys, and for what Forces they ſhall from time to time finde neceſſary; as alſo for payment of the publick debts and damages; and for all other the publick uſes of the Kingdome.*

4. *And to the end the temporary ſecurity intended by the three particulars laſt precedent may be the better aſſured, it may therefore be provided, That no Subjects that have been in Hoſtility againſt the Parliament in the late warre, ſhall be capable of bearing any Office of power or publick truſt in the Common-wealth during the ſpace of five yeares, without conſent of Parliament, or of the Councell of State, or to ſit as Members or aſſiſtants of either Houſe of Parliament, untill the ſecond Biennial Parliament be paſt.*

III. For the preſent forme of diſpoſing the *Militia* in order to the peace

peace and ſafety of this Kingdome, and the ſervice of *Ireland.*

1. *That there be Commiſſioners for the Admiralty with a Vice-Admirall and Rere Admirall, now to be agreed on, with power for the forming, regulating, appointing of Officers, and providing for the Navy, and for ordering the ſame, to and in the ordinary ſervice of the Kingdome. And that there be a ſufficient proviſion and eſtabliſhment for pay and maintenance thereof.*

2. *That there be a Generall for command of the Land Forces that are to be in pay, both in* England, Ireland, *and* Wales, *both for Field and Garriſon.*

3. *That there be Commiſſioners in the ſeverall Counties, for the ſtanding* Militia *of the reſpective Counties (conſiſting of Trained Bands and Auxiliaries not in pay,) with power for the proportioning, forming, regulating, training, and diſciplining of them.*

4. *That there be a Councell of State with power to ſuperintend and direct the ſeverall, and particular powers of the* Militia *laſt mentioned for the peace and ſafety of this Kingdome, and of* Ireland.

5. *That the ſame Councell may have power as the Kings privy Councell, for and in all forraigne negotiations; provided, That the making of warre or peace with any other Kingdome or State, ſhall not be without the advice and conſent of Parliament.*

6. *That the ſaid power of the Councell of State be put into the hands of truſty and able perſons now to be agreed on, and the ſame perſons to continue in that power (ſi bene ſe geſſerint,) for a certain Terme not exceeding ſeven yeares.*

7. *That there be a ſufficient eſtabliſhment now provided for the ſalary Forces both in* England *and* Ireland, *the eſtabliſhment to continue untill two Moneths after the meeting of the firſt Bienniall Parliament,*

IV. That an Act be paſſed for diſpoſing the great Offices for ten years by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, or by ſuch Committees as they ſhall appoint for that purpoſe in the intervalls, (with ſubmiſſion to the approbation of the next Parliament) and after ten yeares, they to nominate three, and the King out of that number to appoint one for the ſucceſſion, upon any vacancy.

V. That an Act be paſſed for reſtraining of any Peers, made ſince the 21. day of *May* 1642. or to be hereafter made, from having any power to ſit, or Vote in Parliament, without conſent of both Houſes.

VI. That an act be paſſed, for recalling and making voyd all Declarations, and other proceedings againſt the Parliament, or againſt any that have acted by, or under their authority in the late Warre, or in relation to it. And that the Ordinances for indempnity may be confirmed.

VII. That an Act be be paſſed for making voyd all Grants, &c. under the Great-Seale, that was conveyed away from the Parliament, ſince the time

time it was ſo conveyed away (except as in the Parliaments Propoſitions) and for making thoſe valid that have been, or ſhall be paſſed under the Great-Seale made by the authority of both Houſes of Parliament.

VIII. That an Act be paſſed for confirmation of the Treaties betweene the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, and for appointing Conſervators of the peace betwixt them.

IX. That the Ordinance for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries be confirmed by Act of Parliament; Provided his Majeſties Revenue be not damnified therein, nor thoſe that laſt held Offices in the ſame left without reparation ſome other way.

X. An Act to declare void the Ceſſation of *Ireland &c.* and to leave the proſecution of that Warre to the *Lords* and *Commons* in the Parliament of *England*.

XI. An Act to be paſſed to take away all coercive power, authority and juriſdiction of Biſhops, and all other Eccleſiaſticall Officers whatſoever, extending to any civill penalties upon any; and to repeale all Laws, whereby the Civill Magiſtracy hath been, or is bound, upon any Eccleſiaſticall cenſure to proceed (*ex officio*) unto any civill penalties, againſt any perſons ſo cenſured.

XII. That there be a Repeale of all Acts, or Clauſes in any Act, enjoyning the uſe of the Booke of *Common-Prayer*, and impoſing any penalties, for neglect thereof; as alſo of all Acts, or Clauſes in any Act, impoſing any penaltie for not comming to Church, or for meetings elſewhere; for Prayer, or other religious duties, excerciſes, or Ordinances: And ſome other proviſion to be made for diſcovering of *Papiſts* and Popiſh Recuſants, and for diſabling of them, and of all Jeſuites, or Prieſts, from diſturbing the State.

XIII. That the taking of the Covenant be not inforced upon any, nor any penalties impoſed upon the Refuſers, whereby men might be conſtrained to take it againſt their judgements, or conſciences, but all Orders, or Ordinances tending to that purpoſe to be repealed.

XIV. That (the things here before propoſed, being provided, for ſetling and ſecuring the Rights, Liberties, Peace, and ſafety of the Kingdome) his Majeſties perſon, his Queen, and Royall iſſue, may be reſtored to a condition of ſafety, Honour, and freedome in this Nation, without diminution to their perſonall Rights, or further limitation to the exerciſe of the Regall power, then according to the particulars aforegoing.

XV. For the matter of Compoſitions.

1. *That a leſſer number out of the perſons excepted in the two firſt qualifications, (not exceeding five for the* Engliſh,*) being nominated particularly by the Parliament,*

Parliament, who (together with the persons in the Irish-Rebellion, *included in the third qualification,) may be reserved to the further judgement of the Parliament, as they shall finde cause: All other excepted persons may be remitted from the exception, and admitted to Composition.*

2. *That the rates for all future Compositions may be lessened and limitted, not to exceed the severall proportions hereafter expresst respectively: That is to say.*

1. *For all persons formerly excepted, not above a third part.*

2. *For the late Members of Parliament, under the first branch of the fourth qualification, in the Propositions, a fourth part.*

3. *For other Members of Parliament, in the second and third branches of the same qualification, a sixth part.*

4. *For the persons nominated in the said fourth qualification; and those included in the tenth qualification, an eighth part.*

5. *For all others included in the sixth qualification, a tenth part.*

And that reall debts, either upon record, or proved by witnesses, be considered, and abated in the valuation of their estates, in all the cases aforesaid.

3. *That those who shall hereafter come to compound, may not have the Covenant put upon them, as a condition without which they may not compound, but in case they shall not willingly take it, they may passe their Compositions without it.*

4. *That the persons and estates of all* English, *not worth two hundered pounds in Lands or Goods, be at liberty and discharged: And that the Kings meniall Servants, that nere tooke up Armes, but onely attended his person according to their Offices, may be freed from Composition, or to pay (at most) but the proportion of one yeares Revenue, or a twentieth part.*

5. *That in Order to the making and perfecting of Compositions at the rates aforesaid, the Rents, Revenues, and other Duties, and Profits of all sequestred Estates whatsoever, (except the Estates of such persons who shall bee continued under exception as before) be from hence forth suspended and detained in the hands of the respective tenant, occupants, and others from whom they are due, for the space of six moneths following.*

6. *That the Faith of the Army, or other forces of the Parliament, given in Articles upon surrenders to any of the Kings party, may be fully made good, and where any breach thereof shall appeare to have been made, full reparation and satisfaction may be given to the parties injured, and the persons offending (being found out) may be compelled thereto.*

XVI. That there may be a generall Act of Oblivion to extend unto all (except the persons to be continued in exception as before) to absolve from all Trespasses, Misdemeanours &c. done in prosecution of the Warre, and from

from all trouble or prejudice for, or concerning the ſame (after their compoſitions paſt) and to reſtore them to all priviledges &c. belonging to other Subjects, provided, as in the fourrh particular under the ſecond generall Head affore-going concerning ſecurity.

And whereas their have been of late ſtrong indeavours and practiſes of a factious and deſperate party, to imbroyle this Kingdome in a new War, and for that purpoſe to enduce the King, the Queene, and Prince, to declare for the ſaid party, and alſo to excite, and ſtirre up all thoſe of the Kings late party, to appeare and engage for the ſame, which attempts and deſignes, many of the Kings party, (out of their deſires to avoid further miſery to the Kingdome,) have contributed their indeavours to prevent, (as for divers of them wee have had particular aſſurance,) we doe therefore deſire, that ſuch of the Kings party who ſhall appeare to have expreſſed, and ſhall hereafter expreſſe that way, their good affections to the peace and welfare of the Kingdome, and to hinder the imbroyling of the ſame in a new Warre, may be freed and exempted from compoſitions, or to pay but one yeares Revenue, or a twentieth part.

Theſe particulars fore-going are the Heads of ſuch propoſalls as wee have agreed on, to tend in order to the ſetling of the peace of this Kingdome, leaving the Termes of peace for the Kingdome of *Scotland* to ſtand as in the late propoſitions of both Kingdomes, untill that Kingdome ſhall agree to any alteration.

Next to the Propoſalls aforeſaid for the preſent ſetling of a peace, wee ſhall deſire, that no time may be loſt by the Parliament for diſpatch of other things tending to the welfare, eaſe and juſt ſatisfaction of the Kingdome, and in ſpeciall manner.

1. That the juſt and neceſſary liberty of the people to repreſent their grievances and deſires by way of Petition, may be cleared and vindicated, according to the fift Head in the late *Repreſentation* or *Declaration* of the *Army*, ſent from St. *Albans*.

2. That (in purſuance of the ſame Head in the ſaid Declaration) the the common grievances of the people, may be ſpeedily conſidered of, and effectually redreſſed, and in particular:

1. That the Exciſe may be taken off from ſuch Commodities whereon the poore people of the Land doe ordinarily live: and a certaine time to be limitted for taking off the whole.

2. That the oppreſſions and incroachments of Forreſt-Laws may be prevented for future.

3. All Monopolies (old or new) and reſtraints to the freedome of trade to be taken off.

4. That

4. That a course may be taken, and Commissioners appointed to remedy and rectifie the inequallity of rates lying upon severall Counties, and severall parts of each County, in respect of others, and to settle the proportions for Land rates, to more equallity throughout the Kingdome, in order to which wee shall offer some further particulars, which wee hope may be usefull.

5. The present unequall, troublesome, and contentious way of Ministers maintenance by *Tythes*, to be considered of, and some remedy applyed.

6. That the rules and course of Law, and the Officers of it, may be so reduced and reformed, as that all suits and questions of Right may be more cleare and certaine in the issues, and not so tedious nor chargeable in the proceeding as now, in order to which wee shall offer some further particulars hereafter.

7. That Prisoners for Debt, or other Creditors (who have estates to discharge them, may not by imbracing imprisonment or any other wayes have advantage to defraud their Creditors, but that the Estates of all men may be some way made liable to their Debts, (as well as Tradesmen are by Commissions of Bankrupt) whether they be imprisoned for it, or not. And that such Prisoners for Debt, who have not wherewith to pay, or at least doe yeeld up what they have to their Creditors, may be freed from imprisonment, or some way provided for, so as neither they, nor their Families may perish by their imprisonments.

8. Some provision to be made, that none may be compelled by penalties or otherwise, to answer unto questions tending to the accusing of themselves, or their neerest relations in criminall causes; And no mans life to be taken away under two witnesses.

9. That consideration may be had of all Statutes, and the Laws or Customes, of Corporations, imposing any Oathes, either to repeale, or else to qualifie and provide against the same, so farre as they may extend or be construed to the molestation, or ensnareing of religious and peaceable people, meerly for non-conformity in Religion.

3. That according to the sixt Head in the Declaration of the Army, the large powers given to Committees, or Debuty Lieutenants during the late times of warre and distraction, may be speedily taken into consideration, to be recalled and made void, and that such powers of that nature as shall appeare necessary to be continued, may be put into a regulated way, and left to as little Arbitrarinesse as the nature and necessity of the things (wherein they are conversant) will beare.

4. That (according to the seventh Head in the said Declaration, an

effectuall course may be taken, that the Kiingdome may be righted and satisfied in point of Accounts, for the vast summes that have been levyed.

5. That provision may be made for payment of Arreares to the Army, and the rest of the Souldiers of the Kingdome, who have concurred with the Army in the late desires and proceedings thereof: And in the next place for payment of the publicke debts and dammages of the Kingdome, and that to be performed, first to such persons whose debts or dammages upon the publicke Account are great, and their estates small, so as they are thereby reduced to a difficulty of subsistance; In order to all which, and to the fourth particular last preceding, wee shall speedily offer some further particulars, (in the nature of rules) which wee hope will be of good use towards publick satisfaction.

Signed by the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax,
and the Councell of Warre Jo. Rushworth, Secret.
August 1. 1647.

A DECLARATION
From his Excellency
Sir THO: FAIRFAX,
And his Councell of VVarre.

WHen this Army was formerly led by the manifold dispensations of Gods providence, and the grounds then declared, to advance towards the Citie of *London*, wee held it our duty, to yeeld the Kingdome, the sum of those desires which we had to propose on behalf of it, and our selves, wherein we should acquiesce: And having received from the Parliament, some hopes of due satisfaction therein, and some assurance from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Councell of the City of *London*, of the ready concurrence with us in those things; and also great resolution professed by them of their care and tenderness, to preserve

ſerve all the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, ſafe, free, and inviolated, from attempts of all kinds, wee doe appeale to God, to the City, and to all men, what a ſpeedy compliance to their deſires for our removall to a further diſtance, found in this Army, for preventing all feares, jealouſies, and other inconveniences to the Citie, and to give cleare teſtimony, that wee had nothing in our breaſts, but thoughts of peace, and the good and welfare both of Parliament, City, and Kingdome, notwithſtanding many falſe and ſcandalous reports raiſed, that we ſought our ſelves, that we had vile and wicked ends, and that nothing would ſatisfie the Souldier but the plunder of the City; the contrary whereof did manifeſtly appeare, when they readily marched back upon hopes of ſatisfaction in their deſires of publique concernment.

Having then upon the aforeſaid confidence ſo withdrawne, and out of a juſt ſenſe of the Countries ſuffering (by quartering) removed the Head-quarter of the Army above forty miles from *London*, and diſperſed the reſt well nigh two hundred miles, for the more eaſe of all parts, and that wee might give the better ſatisfaction to the Kingdome. And being in this ſecure way, and labouring after the ſuddain ſettlement of the Kingdome, we had even brought to perfection the particular Propoſals (included in the generals of our firſt Repreſentation) to be ſent to the Parliament, for a finall concluſion of all our troubles. And alſo had made good progreſſe towards the preſent relieſe of diſtreſſed *Ireland*, by aſſigning a competent force, both of horſe and foot, forthwith to have advanced for that ſervice.

But the Kingdomes, and our Enemies being moſt vigilant and active, to prevent and fruſtrate thoſe good intentions, and endeavours of ours; (that they might carry on their former evill deſignes) and under-hand practiſes, and alſo preſerve themſelves from the hand of juſtice, they have endeavoured to caſt the Kingdome into a new and bloudy warre: And for that end have procured the under-hand-liſting of ſeverall Reformadoes, and others, have contrived, promoted, and cauſed to be entred into by ſeverall perſons, a wicked and treaſonable combination, as is ſufficiently manifeſted by a Declaration paſſed thereupon by both Houſes of Parliament, the 23. of *July* laſt, for the prevention of the diſturbances that were like to enſue thereupon; from which kinde of diſorders the Citie had been well preſerved, during the ſpace of almoſt foure yeares, whileſt the *Militia* was in the hands of the old Commiſſioners, whereby it appeares there was cauſe for the Army to intreat the Parliament, that the *Militia* might be returned into the hands it was in before; as alſo for divers other good Reaſons.

1. The old Commissioners of the *Militia* (that have been since left out) were not onely persons, without all exception, having been formerly chosen and approved by the Parliament and Citie; but also men of whom the City, Parliament, and Kingdome, have had above foure yeares experience in the faithfull discharge of their trust, men that ever from the beginning, in the worst of times, and in the occasions of greatest difficultie, had faithfully and constantly ingaged for, and with the Parliament in this cause; Men that were alwayes most desirous of a Peace, but of a safe and well grounded one, and that had alwaies testified a great care to prevent all occasions of embroyling the Kingdome in a new Warre.

Now that on a suddain this trust which they had so faithfully discharged so long, should be taken out of their hands, and put into the hands of others, some whereof (at the best) have been very coole in the service of the Parliament at the beginning of this Warre; That this should be pressed, and in a manner forced upon the Parliament with such importunitie from the Common-Councell, that some out of every Ward should be assigned to sollicite the Members of the House of *Commons* every day as they went in and out at the House; with professions that they would never leave the doore of the House, till they were satisfied in their desires. That they would not be contented with the *Militia* of the City of *London* onely, unlesse they might have power also over that of the Suburbs and and out-parts: and all this before the peace of the Kingdome was setled, or the Propositions sent to the King for that purpose.

These things ministred great cause of suspition, that this alteration of the *Militia* was in order to a designe, and to make the tearmes of the Peace, and agreement with the *King*, (on which the security of the whole Kingdome, and their posterity is to be bottomed) more sutable to the private bargainings and undertakings of some men, then to the publique welfare of the whole Kingdome, in its security and prosperity, for the present, and in future times. But this designe discovered it selfe more cleerely by such things as accompanied the pursuit of this alteration of the *Militia*, and ensued upon the obtaining thereof: At the same time that the alteration of the *Militia* of *London* was set on foot, the same persons with as much earnestnes pressed for the disbanding of this Army, before any thing was setled for the security and liberty of the Kingdome. At the same time the Common-Councell was new modulized, and a Lord Mayor chosen that might suite with the present designe in hand: At the said time (under colour of differences in some circumstances of Church-Government) it was earnestly endeavoured, that such as had been constantly true and most faithfull to the interest of the Kingdome should be disabled, to have

any

any imployment in Church or Common-wealth, either in *England* or *Ireland*, and without any ſuch colour or pretence, divers perſons were left out of the Common-Councell, and *Militia*, of eminent deſerts and fidelity: and others brought into their roomes that had either teſtified an ill affection, or little affection to the Parliament, and their cauſe: and ſuch as ſeeking to withdraw themſelves from all imployment in the beginning of this Warre, now at the winding up thereof, are ambitious to thruſt themſelves into imployment, with a deſigne (as may juſtly be ſuſpected) to fruſtrate and overthrow in the cloſe of all, the fruit and effect of all the coſt and bloud that hath been ſpent and ſpilt in this cauſe: and after that with difficulty, and not without reluctancy, in the Houſes of Parliament they had obtained the power of the *Militia*, in the Citie of *London*, and alſo in the out parts for the ſpace of one yeare. Many Officers and under-Officers in the Trained Bands, of known truſt and fidelity were diſplaced, and others of more doubtfull affections placed in their roomes, little care was taken of the honour of the Parliament, which was continually trampled under-foot, and their authority affronted by every rabble of Women, Apprentices, Reformadoes, and Souldiers, which latter ſort of perſons were thereby ſo incouraged to riſe higher and higher, in their tumultuous carriages againſt the Houſe, till at length it is riſen to that height of barbarous and monſtrous violence againſt the Parliament, that they might ſet themſelves on worke, and the Kingdome on fire againe. And now at length the deſigne appeares open faced, and though the *Militia* be made as the principall ground of the quarrell, yet by the late vowes and engagements ſet on foote before any alteration of the *Militia*, and the preſſing ſo much the Meſſage of the 12. of *May*, and the *Kings* comming to *London* to confirme the ſame, ſhew, that the *Militia* is deſired but in order to that deſigne, and to force the Parliament (being wholly in their power) to ſuch Termes of peace as they pleaſed.

2. In the next place when the intereſt of the Common-Councell, in their change of the *Militia* ſhall be claimed as the Birth-right of the City of *London*, (which they never had any colour to pretend to, ſaving by the indulgency of the Parliament unto them ſince this Parliament, in reſpect of the great uſe they have had of them, and the many good ſervices they have received from them.) It is time for all the Kingdome to look to their Birth-rights, if ſuch a claime ſhall be held up againſt both the Houſes of Parliament, *That upon no occaſion whatſoever, nor in no time of danger and diſtraction whatſoever, they may appoint thoſe that ſhall have the power of the Militia of London, without the conſent of the Councell; eſpecially when as the Houſes ſhall ſit under their power.*

The late Example may evidence to all the World. who ſhall be Maſters of the Parliaments freedome and Reſolutions: And common reaſon will teach every man who ſhall be Maſters of the Birth-rights of the whole Kingdome, when there ſhall be no Army on foote, when they have the confidence to diſpute for the Maſtery, notwithſtanding ſuch an Army as this to checke and ballance them in behalfe of the Kingdome and Parliament.

3. Laſtly, The Army diſcerning how intimate ſome of the new *Militia* were with ſome of the 11. accuſed Members, how forward they were to comply and act with them in their endeavours, to raiſe a new Warre; how they made 18. or 19. Votes in order thereunto together with them in one night.

All which, the Common-Councell and Parliament diſliked and revoked, how notwithſtanding afterwards they ſecretly promoted their Deſignes by private Liſtings, which now appeare to have been ſtill working under ground.

The Army, wee ſay, obſerving this, and having nothing more in their thoughts and deſires, then to ſettle a ſpeedy, ſafe, and well-grounded peace, and to prevent a new Warre, found it neceſſary to deſire;

That the *Militia* might be put into the hands wherein it was formerly, who had approoved themſelves both to the Army, Parliament, and Kingdome, to be ſober-minded men, and not given to any practiſe whereby a new Warre might be kindled.

To the intent, that the Army being ſecured by that meanes from that danger, might with the more confidence retire further from the City, enlarge their Quarter for the greater eaſe of the Kingdome, and intend wholly the ſetling of a ſure peace in this Kingdome, and a ſpeedy and effectuall reliefe of *Ireland*, which was almoſt brought to a period, and nothing in the ſight of man could have hindred, *but this curſed practice of violence upon the Parliament, under pretence of the* Militia, *which according to our deſire, being reſtored againe into the hands of the old Commiſſioners, by an Ordinance of both Houſes, dated the* 21. *of* July, *(in purſuance of the aforeſaid treaſonable combination) ſeverall Petitions were preſented to the Common-Councell of the City of* LONDON, *in the name of the Apprentices and others, importing their Deſires, that the* Militia *of the City might continue in the hands of the former Commiſſioners, according to the Ordinance of the* 4. *of May laſt.*

Whereupon Monday *July* the ſix and twentieth, the Common-Councell of the City preſents their Petitions to both Houſes, for changeing the *Militia*, wherein the Houſe of Lords refuſe to alter their reſolutions; the Houſe of Commons anſwered, they would take it into conſideration the

the next morning. Notwithſtanding which, the City and Kingdome cannot be ignorant with what rage and inſolency the tumult of Apprentices the ſame day forced both Houſes. They blockt up their doores, ſwearing they would keepe them in, till they had paſſed what Votes they pleaſed; they threatened the Houſes, if they granted not their deſires, knocking, hooping, and hallowing ſo at the Parliament-doores, that many times the Members could not be heard to ſpeake or debate, not ſuffering the Houſe of Commons to divide for determining ſuch Queſtions, as were put, crying out, *That thoſe that gave their Votes againſt them, ſhould be ſent out to them*; very often and loudly, ſaying, *Agree, agree, diſpatch, wee'l wait no longer*; and in this outragious manner, they continued at the Houſe doore above eight houres together, the City-Guards there preſent, nor the City relieving them, by reaſon whereof the Houſe was forced to Vote what that rude multitude would demand, and then adjourned the Houſe till the next morning; After which the Houſe riſing, the Speaker and many Members going out of the Houſe, they forc'd them back againe into the Houſe: Many of the Apprentices preſſing in with them, where they ſtood with their hats on their heads, and compelled the Speaker to take the Chaire, and the Houſe to Vote in their preſence what they pleaſed, committing many other inſolencies, as is publiſhed by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in his Declararation, and is too well known by all then preſent; And during the time of this execrable violence done by the ſaid Apprentices, *Weſtminſter*-Hall and the Pallace-yard was fild with Reformadoes and other ill-affected perſons deſigned to back them.

After this the Houſes being adjourned till Friday following, upon the Thurſday the Apprentices printed and poſted a paper in ſeverall places of the Citie, requiring all their fellowes to be early at the Parliament the next morning, for that they intended to adjourne by ſeven of the clock, and that for a moneth. Thus the Speakers with many of the Members of both Houſes were driven away from the Parliament.

This in briefe being the true ſtate of things, as they have broke forth within theſe few dayes, (which are ſo contrary to all thoſe pretences of Peace, and deteſtation of a new Warre, of late ſo frequently held forth on all ſides,) all men may obſerve to what maturity the long projected Deſigne of ſome men, (of whom are thoſe that are impeached by us,) is now brought, and may be traced in the ſeverall ſteps thereof, as it hath tended to the enſlaving this Kingdome, and the deſtruction of all ſuch well-affected people, who would not comply with them therein; ſo as by what now is come to light, the juſtneſſe of that cauſe, this Army had engaged themſelves in, and the great and wonderfull mercy of God in continuing them

them together, we aſſure our ſelves doth now clearly appeare to all mens eyes and apprehenſions, and will every day more and more be acknowledged, even by thoſe that have heretofore made a queſtion of it.

And if when this Kingdome hath ſpent ſo much of its bloud and treaure, hath paſt through ſuch un heard of dangers, and overcome ſuchdifficulties ſo many yeares together; All that they muſt now hope for and reſt in, muſt only be what the King grants in his Meſſage of the 12 of *May* laſt: And if this muſt be impoſed upon mens judgements and conſciences by an oath, and now entred into in a tumultuous and unlawfull way, and by outrage maintained in deſpight and contempt of the Parliament. If rather then this ſhould not be accompliſhed, the Parliament it ſelfe muſt be violated and forced into the hands of ſuch of the Members thereof as have ſecretly abetted and fomented thoſe practiſes to that end; That theſe hidden counſels and works of darkneſſe might, when they come to their full birth, have the image of higheſt authority in the face of them, the better to gaine credit thereunto, & ſecure the Authors of them from puniſhment; For the evidence of all which, wee refer our ſelves to the particulars in our Charge againſt the 11. Members, compared with thoſe paſſages of late broke forth, before rehearſt, unto which wee ſhall now onely adde (and leave it to the conſideration of all wiſe and good men) with what artifice and boldneſſe theſe Members have ſerv'd themſelves of thoſe horrid tumults and violences of their own creating (inſtead of ſhewing their deteſtation of them) againe to intrude themſelves into the publique managing of affaires, and inevitably to embroyle the Kingdome in a new war; which their own revenge and the compaſſing of their former plots and deſignes makes them ſo greedily thirſt after. If theſe things (we ſay) muſt be the end and up-ſhot of all, what then remaines to this poore Kingdome and all true hearted Engliſhmen, but to joyne together as one man with their counſels, eſtates and lives in this way, as our laſt refuge under God, which he by his wiſe and gracious providence hath provided and reſerved by keeping up this Army even to a Miracle, ſo to prevent the aforeſaid evils, and to procure to this dying Kingdome, yea a ſetled peace and happineſſe, if it be his bleſſed will?

Theſe things being ſeriouſly conſidered by us, wee have thought fit in the name of the Army to declare, that all ſuch Members of either Houſe of Parliament as are already with the Army for the ſecurity of their perſons, and for the ends aforeſaid, are forced to abſent themſelves from *Weſtminſter*, that wee ſhall hold and eſteeme them as perſons in whom the publick truſt of the Kingdome is ſtill remaining, though they cannot for the preſent ſit as a Parliament with freedome and ſafety at *Weſtminſter*; and by whoſe

whoſe advice & counſels, we deſire to govern our ſelves in, in the managing theſe weighty affaires; and to that end we invite them to make repaire to this Army, to joyne with us in this great cauſe, wee being reſolved, and doe hereby faithfully oblige our ſelves to ſtand by them therein, and to live and die with them againſt all Oppoſition whatſoever, and in particular wee doe hold our ſelves bound to owne that honourable act of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, who upon the grounds he himſelfe expreſſed in his Declaration ſent unto us, hath actually withdrawn himſelfe; and hereupon we doe further ingage to uſe our utmoſt and ſpeedy endeavours, that he and thoſe Members of either Houſe, that are thus inforced away from their attendance at *Weſtminſter*, may with freedome and ſecurity ſit there, and againe diſcharge their truſt, as a free and a legall Parliament, and in the meane time wee doe declare againſt that late choice of a new Speaker by ſome Gentlemen at *Weſtminſter*, as contrary to all right Reaſon, Law, and Cuſtome, and wee profeſſe our ſelves to be moſt clearly ſatisfied in all our judgements, and are alſo confident the Kingdome will herein concurre with us, that as things now ſtand, there is no free nor legall Parliament ſitting, being through the aforeſaid violence at preſent ſuſpended: And that the Orders, Votes, or Reſolutions, forced from the Houſes on Munday the 26. of *July* laſt, as alſo all ſuch as ſhall paſſe in this Aſſembly of ſome few Lords and Gentlemen at *Weſtminſter*, under what pretence and colour ſoever, are void and null, and ought not to be ſubmitted unto by the free-borne Subjects of *England*.

And that we may prevent that ſlavery deſigned upon us and the Nation, that the Kingdome may be reſtored to a happy State of a viſible Government, now eclipſed and darkened; wee hold our ſelves bound by our duty to God and the Kingdome, to bring to condigne puniſhment the Authors and Promoters, of that unparalleld violence done to the Parliament; and in that to all the free-borne Subjects of *England*, that are or hereafter ſhall be; and therefore we are reſolved to march up towards *London*, where we doe expect that the well-affected people of that City will deliver up unto us, (or otherwiſe put into ſafe Cuſtody, ſo as they may be reſerved to a legall Triall,) the eleven impeached Members that have againe thruſt themſelves into the management of publick affaires by this wicked deſigne.

And that all others will give us ſuch aſſiſtance therein, that the Members of both Houſes may receive due incouragement to returne to *Weſtminſter*, there to ſit with all freedome, and ſo to performe their truſt, as ſhall conduce to the ſettlement of this diſtracted Kingdome; and to inflict ſuch puniſhments upon theſe late Offenders, as ſhall deterre any for the future to make the like attempt.

Our lives have not been deare unto us for the publick good, and being now reſolved by the aſſiſtance of God, to bring theſe delinquents to their deſerved puniſhments, as that, then which, there cannot be any thing of more publick concernment to the Kingdome, wee truſt (if it ſhall come to that,) our bloud ſhall not be accounted too deare a price for the accompliſhment of it. And if any in the City will ingage themſelves againſt us to protect theſe Perſons, and ſo put the Kingdome againe into a new and miſerable Warre. The bloud muſt be laid to the account of ſuch perſons, as the Authors thereof.

And laſtly, Becauſe it is the maine Engine of ours and the Kingdomes enemies, to render us odious by poſſeſſing the minds of men, that we gape onely after the plunder of this great and wealthy City, as the experience of the contrary carriage in all Townes that wee have taken yeeldeth unto us a Teſtimony beyond the example of any Army, ſo wee doe from our hearts declare, that wee abhorre the thoughts thereof, and wee doubt not but the world ſhall ſee our actions anſwerable to our profeſſions, and that we ſhall not cauſe any man to ſuffer but by his own default; and that God will manifeſt we have only in our eyes, that Juſtice may have a free courſe, the Parliament a free ſitting and voting, and a full vindication of the late violence done to them.

And as for the City of *Weſtminſter*, the Borough of *Southwarke*, the *Hamlets*, and the reſt of the Suburbs and out-parts, as wee are informed, that they are not ſo ready to engage themſelves in a new warre, as ſome would have them, ſo wee are ſenſible of the hard condition that they are brought into, even by them that claime a Right againſt both Houſes of Parliament, (a ſtrange claim againſt a Parliament, though more reaſonable againſt others,) not to be ſubjected to a *Militia* without their own conſent, and yet will not be contented, unleſſe they may have others ſubjected unto them, and lay what burthens they pleaſe upon them, without allowing them any part of vote or conſent with them; In which points of common Right and Equity, wee ſhall not be wanting (in a due way) to aſſiſt them for the obtaining of their juſt deſires and immunities, it being our chiefe aim to ſettle Peace with Truth and Righteouſneſſe throughout the Kingdome, that none may be oppreſſed in his juſt freedome and Liberties, much leſſe the Parliament it ſelfe, which things being duly ſetled, we ſhall be as ready alſo to aſſure unto the King his juſt Rights and authority, as any that pretend it never ſo much, for the better upholding of an ill cauſe, and the countenance of tumultuous violence againſt the Parliament, the which our honeſt, juſt, and neceſſary undertakings, as we are reſolved to purſue with the utmoſt hazzard of our lives and fortunes, ſo wee doubt

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not, but we ſhall find Gods accuſtomed goodneſſe and aſſiſtance with us therein, till wee have brought them to a good and happy concluſion, for this poore diſtracted and languiſhing Kingdome.

A REMONSTRANCE From his Excellency Sir THO: FAIRFAX, And the Army under his Command.

WHen (by the bleſſing of God upon the endeavours of this Army, and other forces of the *Parliament*) the adverſe forces and Garriſons within this Kingdome were diſſipated, and reduced, a preſent quiet, and freedome of Trade, and all Commerce, and buſineſſe reſtored to all parts of the Kingdome, and an hopefull way made for ſetling of a ſound & laſting Peace, on good termes for the Intereſt of the Kingdome, inſtead of the hoped fruit of our labours, and hazzards, and of the Kingdomes vaſt expence (in the diſpenſing of Juſtice and Righteouſneſſe, and the ſetling and upholding of common Right and freedome to the Subjects of this Nation) we found immediately the croſſe-workings of a ſtrong and prevalent Partie in the *Parliament*, and Kingdome, who walking (under the maske of the *Parliaments* friends; but being in truth men of corrupt, and private ends, and Intereſts, different from, and deſtructive to the reall and common Intereſt of the Kingdome) made uſe of their power to obſtruct, and pervert Juſtice, to injure, oppreſſe, and cruſh the peaceable, and well-affected people of the Kingdome, to abridge and overthrow all juſt freedome and libertie, and drive on deſignes to ſet up a Party, and faction in the *Parliament*, and Kingdome, and (by the advantage of a perpetuall *Parliament*) to domineere over, and inſlave the Kingdome to poſteritie. And for that end to make ſuch a Peace with the King (if any) as

without any juſt proviſion for the common and true Intereſt of the people, and the ſecuritie thereof for future, would ſerve onely to make up, and eſtabliſh their own greatneſſe, and the affected domination of themſelves, and their Partie over all others.

To all which ends (as before this *Parliament*, the ignominious names of Puritan, and Non-conformiſt, and the ſpecious pretences for ſetling of Order, Decencie, and Uniformity in Religion were made uſe of, to the prejudice, trouble, and ſuppreſſing of all, that appeared, either for the Truth and power of Religion, or for the Rights, and Liberties of the Kingdome, and towards the advancing at once, both of an Eccleſiaſticall, and Civill tyranny. So this generation of men in the application of the *Parliaments* Power (ſucceeding the former in the exerciſe of the Kings, have made uſe of the odious names of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Independents*, *Hereticks*, *Sebiſmaticks*, or Sectaries of one ſort or other, to blaſt ſuch men, in whom the Truth, and power of Religion, or a juſt ſenſe of the common Intereſt of the Kingdome, hath appeared, and have held forth the pretences of Reformation, and Uniformity to colour and countenance their Deſignes, of ſetting up their owne irreligious, or phariſaicall domineering faction, to the oppreſſion of all other people; And herein they have had a great advantage, to further their aforeſaid Deſignes, by reaſon of the jealouſies, which many Conſcientious men of the Presbyterian Judgement, have entertained concerning this Army, and concerning divers other eminent, and worthy Inſtruments of the Kingdomes good, who (being in places of publick truſt and power) were ſuppoſed to be of the *Independent* way.

In purſuance of their aforeſaid deſignes they endeavoured, and by their power and influence upon the Parliament, and the advantage of ſuch pretences as aforeſaid, very much prevailed to put out of all places of power, or publick truſt, the moſt ſober, and conſciencious men, and ſuch as had approved themſelves faithfull to the publick intereſt throughout all the late troubles; and to put in debauched, and diſſolute men, or ſuch as would for advantage ſerve their private intereſts; and for that end (in caſes where they could not otherwiſe prevaile) procured ſuch Garriſons to be ſlighted, and ſuch powers to be recalled (though more neceſſary to have been continued) which they found in the hands of perſons of the former ſort, and ſuch to be continued (though leſſe neceſſary) as they found in the hands of the later. And the better to ſtrengthen themſelves in their deſignes, cloſing with a very powerful party in the Citie of *London*, they firſt, with much activitie, endeavoured and prevailed to new modell the Common-Councell, and forme the ſame to their own party, and then ſtirred them up to Petition (amongſt other things concurrent to their ends) for

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the alteration of the City-*Militia*, who, by their continuall, violent, and preſſing importunitie at the Parliaments doores, wrung from the Parliament an Ordinance for that purpoſe, whereby they procured the power of that *Militia* (the ſpeciall influence whereof upon the Citie and Kingdome, and upon the Parliament it ſelfe (being the onely guard they had for their ſafe ſitting) is evident to all men, to be taken out of thoſe hands in which it had been continued without out prejudice, and with great, and known ſecurity, and advantage, both to the Parliament, City, and Kingdome, throughout the late troubles (and this, without any exception, either then or ſince made againſt them) and to be put into the hands of ſuch others as were (at beſt) of doubtfull affections to the intereſt of the Parliament, and Kingdome, but indeed men given up, and ingaged to the private intereſts, and deſignes of the ſaid factious party, as hath ſince too evidently appeared, and as in the late Declaration of the Army, concerning the grounds of our advance towards *London*, is more fully remonſtrated. And (finding this Army not for their turnes) they made it their maine worke to diſ-band or breake it in pieces, (even before the reliefe of *Ireland* were provided for, or the peace of this Kingdome ſetled.) And though all this went under the pretence of eaſing the preſent burthens of the Kingdome, yet at the ſame time they deſigned and went about to put the Kingdome to the expence, and trouble of raiſing and forming a new force (under pretence as for the ſervice of *Ireland*) but evidently deſigned, and ſo framed as to ſerve their own ends and purpoſes aforeſaid in *England*. And (being many of them filled and acted with perſonall envy, and others with malignity of principles and intereſts againſt this Army, and the worke of God by it.) It would not ſerve their turne to breake or diſ-band it, but it muſt be with all poſſible diſhonour, injury, oppreſſion, and provocation that they could put upon it. And it was too evident, that their endeavour was not onely to put it off without the honour, or ſatisfaction due to it, for the ſervice it had done, but to diſ-band it on ſuch termes, as to ſubject, and expoſe all (and even the moſt faithfull) ſervants of the Parliament, and Kingdome, both in the Army, and elſewhere, unto oppreſſion, and undoing, or to the mercy of their own, and ſuch other mens malicious and envenomed ſpirits, which could promiſe no better; for the more full and particular Demonſtration of all which, wee referre all knowing men to the practices and proceedings againſt this Army, unto the times (by their procurement) appointed for the diſ-banding of it in ſeverall parts, without juſt and equall ſatisfaction, which have been in part remonſtrated in papers ſent from this Army, and publiſhed before our coming up to St *Albans*.

Upon

Upon conſideration of all this, and upon the reſolution, (which their own abuſes and provocations put upon the Army, had raiſed in the whole body of it)not to diſ-band without further ſatisfaction, and ſecurity from the like abuſes in future; Wee did in our Repreſentation or Declaration ſent from St *Albans*, expreſſe in generall what things wee deſired, (beſides our concernments as Souldiers)to ſee done or provided for, before our diſbanding for the peace of the Kingdome and a ſecuring the common rights, and liberties thereof, which wee were called out to defend and vindicate, and had ſo long fought for. Andhaving (therewithall) impeached ſeverall Members of the houſe of Commons for their unjuſt practiſes and deſignes to ſuch purpoſes as are before expreſſed, and for indeavoring in proſecution thereof to ingage this Kingdome in a new warre; wee added ſome further deſires for the prevention of that miſchiefe(of a new warre) to the Kingdome, and for our own preſent ſecuritie from immediate ruine, while thoſe other things might be treated on or conſidered. And upon the granting of ſome of them in part, and hopes given of ſome others (though we could not obtaine the reſt, and eſpecially not that which we held moſt juſt, equall and neceſſarie; viz. The poſitive ſuſpenſion of thoſe impeached members from ſitting in the Houſe, as Judges in their own cauſe, and from their power in Committees, whereby they had th'advantage to raiſe warre againſt us, and to make new diſturbances in the Kingdome, yet)the ſaid impeached Members pretending to withdraw themſelves from the Parliament, untill their cauſes ſhould be heard and tryed, and the Houſe giving conſent thereto; Wee, out of our tenderneſſe to Parliament Privilidges, and our earneſt deſires to yeeld all obſervance to the Parliament and ſatisfaction to the Citie (who pretended a full concurrence with us in our declared deſires for ſettling the peace and liberties of the Kingdome) did at the Parliaments command, and the Cities requeſt, withdraw the Army to the deſired diſtance from *London*, and diſperſed it further to ſeverall parts of the Kingdome for the eaſe of the Countrey, and proceeded in a peaceable and regular way, to prepare & proſecute more particular Charges againſt the ſaid Impeached members, which within a few dayes after wee accordingly ſent up to the Houſe: And the ſaid Impeached Members, (having put in a delatorie anſwer thereto with a plea and demurre to divers particulars therein) pretended, that (to avoyd any diſturbance or interruption to the preſent proceedings for ſettling the publicke affaires, by the interpoſall of their private cauſe,) they deſired leave and paſſes to travell for ſome Monthes, which accordingly the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons was ordered or authorized to give them, and wee (preſuming on the Houſes caution for their forth-comming to be tryed, when the affaires

faires of the Kingdome were ſettled (which upon their firſt motion of withdrawing wee had inſiſted on,) did not gaineſay. And thereupon we proceeded in a quiet and hopefull way to prepar more particular propoſalls (in perſuance of our former generall deſires) for the preſent ſetling of the peace of the Kingdome to be tendred to the Commiſſioners of Parliament reſiding with the Army for that purpoſe. But finding that while wee were thus peaceably proceeding, the ſaid impeached members (notwithſtanding their pretended deſires to travell) did continue in and about *London* very active and buſie to raiſe warre, or make diſturbances in the Kingdome, and that the Committee of the *Militia* there did comply with them therein (by daily liſting of men and other preparations towards warre, and ſheltring to that end, yea, and entertaining into ſervice thoſe ſame Reformadoes, who (by Ordinance of Parliament,) were by them to have been put out of the Lines of Communication) and finding continuall jealouſies and diſturbances to our ſaid proceedings, bred in the Army by the daily reports and alarms thereof from the Citie, wee made a particular addreſſe to the Parliament for the reſtoring of the Citie *Militia* into thoſe hands, in which it was before the Ordinance of the fourth of *May* laſt. For the reaſonableneſſe of our deſires wherein, ſuppoſing that we had ſuch cauſe to inſiſt on ſome removall of that power out of the hands in which it was then put (as here before is partly expreſt, and in our late Declaration is more fully ſet forth) wee dare confidently appeale to all men (not engaged or prejudiced againſt us) whether, for the preſent ſafety and quiet of the City upon ſuch a change, and to prevent thoſe dangers or diſturbances to, or in the City, which the want of a *Militia* during the intervall (betwixt the ceaſing of one, and new forming of another) might give occaſion and advantage unto, (eſpecially in ſuch a junƈture of affaires) there could be any other way ſo expedient, as to render that change but an immediate reverting into thoſe hands in which it was ſo lately before (who would make up a *Militia* ready formed to ſucceed immediately in place of the other, without any conſiderable intermiſſion or delay) and whether, at a time when jealouſies and diſtruſts were both ſo rife and hurtfull (as they might occaſion no leſſe diſtraƈtion or interruption to any quiet ſettlement or proceedings thereunto, then reall attempt of miſchiefe would) there could be any propoſall more reaſonable or hopefull to beget a confidence and acquieſcence (as to that point) both in the Parliament, Citie, and Army, then to have that power reſtored (for the preſent) into thoſe hands of whoſe fidelity to the common intereſt, we had all found ſo ample and unqueſtioned proofe throughout the moſt dangerous times: upon our addreſſe therefore to the Parliament for that purpoſe (the Army being

ing at ſuch diſtance as aforeſaid) both Houſes were pleaſed on the 23. of *July* laſt, to paſſe an Ordinance for returning of the *Militia* into thoſe hands, and repealing the Ordinance of the 4. of *May*, by which it had been changed as before: hereupon hoping all would quietly ſucceed to a ſettlement in this Kingdome, wee went on ſecurely to finiſh our Propoſalls for that purpoſe, (the heads whereof have been ſince publiſhed) withdrew the head-quarter to a further diſtance, diſperſed the Army to larger Quarters for more eaſe to the Countrey, and upon a recommendation of the buſineſſe of *Ireland* from the Parliament, wee had in leſſe then a weekes ſpace prepared and ordered a conſiderable force (no leſſe then 4000. horſe and foot, as Sir *Thomas Temple*, employed from the Parliament about that buſineſſe to us, can teſtifie) for a preſent reliefe thereunto: But the reſtleſſe and treacherous malice of the enemies to our and the Kingdomes peace, (taking their ſuppoſed advantage of our diſtance, and diſperſed poſture (which their faire pretences of peaceable intentions had induced us into) firſt, they did without all colour of authority, contrive and ſet on foot in the City, and many of them entred into a miſchievous and deſperate vow and ingagement, tending to the ſubverſion of the freedome of Parliament, and the liberties of this Nation, to the fruſtrating of thoſe juſt and publick ends, for which ſo much bloud and treaſure hath been ſpilt, and ſpent, in the late Warres, and to the raiſing of a new Warre againſt the Parliament and their Army (which ſaid ingagement both Houſes of Parliament, did by their Declaration of the 23. of *July*, adjudge and declare to be high Treaſon in all that ſhould promote or abet the ſame; and within a few dayes after, (to wit, on Munday *July* 26.) there was a Petition brought to the Parliament, by the Sheriffes, and ſome Aldermen, and Common-Councell-men, in the name of the City of *London*, for the recalling of the ſaid Ordinance of the 23. of *July*, concerning the *Militia*, and the returning of the *Militia* into thoſe hands, in which it was put by the Ordinance of the 4. of *May*, which Petition was immediately followed and backed with a tumultuous confluence of Apprentices, and other diſſolute and deſperate perſons, who committed moſt horrid and unheard of violence upon both Houſes, inforcing them to recall both the ſaid Declaration of the three and twentieth day of *July*, (concerning the ſaid engagement:) and alſo the ſaid Ordinance of the ſame date, concerning the *Militia*, and compelling the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons to reſume the Chaire, after the Houſe was adjourned, and the Houſe to paſſe ſuch further Votes concerning the Kings preſent coming to *London*, &c. as the ſaid Rioters did pleaſe, neither the Guard from the City, that then attended the Houſes, nor the Lord Mayor, Sheriffes, or any Authority in the City (though

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ſent to for that purpoſe) taking any courſe to ſuppreſſe the ſaid tumult, or relieve the Parliament againſt that violence, though it was continued for the ſpace of eight or ten houres.

And the Houſes having next day adjourned till Friday, *July* 30. There were printed Tickets fixed upon poſts, in and about the City the day before, inviting the ſame perſons to the like confluence at *Weſtminſter*, againſt the Houſe, next meeting, all which hath been more fully and more aſſuredly made known, by the Declaration of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons concerning the ſame.

By this meanes the Speakers of both Houſes, together with moſt of the Lords, and a very great number of the moſt faithfull and unqueſtioned Members of the Houſe of Commons were driven away, ſo as they could not with ſafety attend their ſervice in Parliament, nor with freedome diſcharge their truſt to the Kingdome therein, but were forced to fly to their Army for ſafety, ſo as there was not, nor could then be, any free meeting or legall proceeding of a Parliament. Notwithſtanding which divers Members of both Houſes, (who by the carriage and ſequell of the buſineſſe, will appeare to be of the ſame party and confederacy with the aforeſaid Enemies to our and the Kingdomes peace, and with the Authors and Actors both of the ſaid treaſonable ingagement, and the tumultuous force upon the Parliament.) Taking this opportunitie of time, to carry on their deſignes, when very few were left, but of their owne party, did continue to meet in the uſuall places in *Weſtminſter*. And (having under pretence of a neceſſity for continuing the Parliament, by adjournement, they drawn in ſome few well-minded Members to ſit with them, out of a ſcruple leaſt the Parliament ſhould fall for want of adjournement,) took upon them the name of both Houſes of Parliament.

And having on Friday *July* 30. choſen a new Speaker, did proceed to Vote and Act as a Parliament, and adjourned from time to time; But of what party and confederacy the moſt of them were, and to what ends and intereſts they acted, will appeare by what they did whereof we ſhall for preſent give a taſte in ſome particulars, hoping that ſhortly the whole Journall of their proceedings may be made publick.

Firſt, the ſaid Members of the Houſe of Commons (conveening as aforeſaid) immediately Voted and called in (as to the ſervice of the Houſe, the Eleven impeached Members. And alſo thoſe who upon former Votes of the Houſe were ſuſpended, or under Queſtion to be put out for Delinquency, and had put in their caſes; with this pretended Houſe of Commons thus compoſed, and foure or five Lords of the ſame Modell (for an houſe of Peares) they proceed to ſet up a Committee for ſafety,

(whereof almoſt all of the ſaid impeached Members were apart) this Committee they appointed to joine with that ſame pretended Committee of the City *Militia*, whoſe power was obtained only by the tumultuous force and violence aforeſaid: To theſe Committees the moſt or many of their proceedings referre, and by divers pretended Votes, Orders, and Ordinances, procured in the name of one or both Houſes of Parliament, large powers were given to theſe two Committees for raiſing of Forces, appointing chiefe Commanders and other Officers, and other vaſt, unlimited, and unuſuall powers were given them, all tending to the raiſing and levying of a new Warre within this Kingdome: upon which many forces both of Horſe and Foot, were actually levyed, and other preparations of Warre made; all which, that they were intended and deſigned in Juſtification, proſecution, and maintenance of the aforeſaid treaſonable engagement, and of the ſaid force and violence done to the Parliament, or of the very ſame ends and intereſts, and to oppoſe and hinder the reſtitution of the Houſes of Parliament, to their honour and freedome and the advance of this their Army for that purpoſe (being then upon a March. Beſides the conſideration of the perſons, into whoſe hands theſe powers were committed. It is abundantly evident many other wayes, but eſpecially by that Declaration of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-councell of *London*, which was firſt, by that pretended Committee of ſafety, ordered, and then by the pretended Houſes (without reading a word of it) approved to be publiſhed in the Pariſh Churches, with an exhortation to the people to take up Armes, in maintenance of the ends therein expreſſed, which (though the pretence were for the defence of the King, Parliament and City, then alledged to be in great danger, (when as indeed none were in danger, but only the Authors, Actors, and Abettors of the traiterous practiſes aforeſaid, yet) the true ends thereof appeare clearely to be the ſame with the ſaid treaſonable ingagement, and tumult againſt the Parliament, all of them concentring (as in other things, ſo eſpecially in this) *viz. To have the King brought up to* London *without delay, or any nearer approach of the Army.* And to all theſe, the ſucceeding Votes of the pretended Houſes, for the ſame thing did ſpeedily eccho the ſame note: Concerning which matter (not to examine the alteration of the caſe, ſince both Houſes, and both Kingdomes alſo (of *England* and *Scotland*) reſolved, that it was not ſafe the King ſhould come to *London*, untill he had given ſatisfaction and ſecurity to his people in relation to thoſe publick ends, for which ſo much bloud and treaſure had been ſpent) we ſhall only ſay thus much to thoſe mens intentions and deſignes in the buſineſſe: That had the King come up to *London* (as they have ſo oft deſired and attempted)

ted) it is apparent they intended and would have made uſe of it, rather to lay the ſtronger foundations of a new Warre (upon the ruines of that publick intereſt contended for in the former, and of all thoſe that had with moſt candor, cleareneſſe, and ſimplicity of heart, appeared and acted for the ſame, then any way to ſettle thereby a ſafe and well-grounded peace. And ſince they could not rationally expect ſo eaſie an obtaining of the Kings perſon to *London*, upon ſuch a pretended Vote or Declaration of their deſire thereof, it is as evident that they could intend nothing thereby, but a more plauſible pretence, and foundation of quarrell againſt this Army, whereby to ingage or incline to their aſſiſtance the Kings party, and ſuch others, who might be catcht with the apprehenſion thereof, as a ſpeedy way to Peace (the thing ſo generally longed for) and by ſuch aſſiſtance gained the better to ruine this Army, and thoſe faithfull Members of Parliament, who were retired to it. For our parts we ſhall rejoice as much as any, to ſee the King brought back to his Parliament (and that) not ſo much in place, as in affection and agreement on ſuch ſound termes and grounds, as may render both Him and the Kingdome, ſafe, quiet and happy, and ſhall be as ready as any to bring his Majeſty to *London*, when his being there may be likely to produce (not greater diſturbances, but) a Peace indeed. And that ſuch as may not (with the ſhipwrack of publick intereſt) be ſhaped and moulded only to the private advantages of a particular party or faction. But bottomed cheifly on grounds of common and publick welfare and ſecurity. And if (without regard to theſe conſiderations) we would have brought his Majeſty with us to *London*, in our late advance thither (which our enimies could not hinder or prejudice us in) we had no cauſe to doubt, but (as to men) we might have had all the advantages which our adverſaries promiſed to themſelves, thereby added to the ſtrength and intereſt of the Army, and have inverted the diſadvantages upon them that they intended againſt us thereby; ſo as his Majeſties ſo much deſired to come to *London*, might have been much to their prejudice, and our advantage and ſecurity, if we had regarded only our owne particulars.

But (as at preſent our conſciences beare cleare witneſſes to our ſelves,) ſo we hope God will in the iſſue make it cleare to others, that we have not minded, nor been acting our owne workes or intereſts, but the Kingdomes, and every honeſt mans in it. Mean while (to return to our purpoſe) we thinke it is ſufficiently cleared, that the proceedings of thoſe members, or the major part of them (that continued to ſit at *Weſtminſter* during the abſence of the Speakers) the powers by them given, the forces thereupon levied, and other preparations of Warre thereupon made, were all

deſigned and driven on in proſecution and maintenance of the ſaid treaſonable ingagement, and of the force done npon the Parliament, or for the ſame ends and intereſt with them, and to oppoſe the advance of this Army towards *London*, for reſtitution of the Parliament to honour and freedome, and indeed to raiſe a new warre in the Kingdome againſt the Parliament and their Army for the deſtruction thereof. And the ſame may (yet further) appear by this that thoſe very Apprentices, Reformadoes, and others about the City, who were the cheife actors in the ſaid ingagement and tumult, were afterwards moſt truſted and imployed, and moſt active in their preparations for War.

By what we have here ſaid and what hath been declared and publiſhed from us, and from the Speakers, and aforeſaid Members of both Houſes, and by the whole ſeries of our owne, and our enemies actions and carriages, (compared together) it may appeare how tender we have been not only of the authority and juſt Priviledges of Parliament, and of the ſafety, peace, and welfare both of the Kingdome and the City, but even towards thoſe our enemies themſelves (ſeeking only things neceſſary for the common good of the whole, (and that if poſſible) without ruine or hurt to any, and yet how maliciouſly and unworthily we have that while been dealt withall by thoſe our enemies, and by a factious and powerfull party (eſpecially) in Parliament and City combining with them: And what cleare cauſe we have had both for all that we have formerly deſired or done in prevention of our owne ruine and the Kingdomes diſturbance, and alſo what juſt grounds for our late advance to *London*. The good ſervice whereof (eſpecially in reſtoring the Parliament into a condition of ſafety, honour and freedome, thereby hath been, (without any ſeeking of ours) acknowledged by both Houſes with thankes to us, and publick thankeſgiving to the Almighty for it; And a further truſt hath been thereupon committed to the Generall for taking care with his Army to ſafe-guard the Parliament.

The Houſes being thus reſtored to a condition of preſent ſafety, honor and freedome; Two things ſeem clearly remaining to be done (which our owne and moſt mens expectations are moſt ſet upon) *viz.*

Firſt, to vindicate the honour, freedome, and ſafety of Parliament from the like affronts or violences in future, and the Army and Kingdome from danger of the like diſturbances (whilſt things ſhall be in a debate or treaty for a ſettlement) and then to proceed unto a ſpeedy ſettlement of the peace of the Kingdome.

The latter of theſe is firſt in our intentions (being neareſt to the ultimate end. And we ſhal earneſtly deſire in order therunto, the propoſals of the

the Army (whereof the heads are publiſhed)may be ſpeedily conſidered and brought to a reſolution. But conſidering that the debates of them may take up ſome time ere they be agreed on all hands, and the framing of them into Bils, and perfecting of the ſame will require much more. Something muſt firſt be done in the former for a preſent ſecurity to the Parliament from like affronts or violence, and to the Army and Kingdome from the like diſturbances to the peace thereof by any farther advantage, which the time like to be ſpent in the ſetling of peace, may afford to our watchfull, reſtleſſe, and (we doubt) implacable enemies.

Firſt, therefore to thoſe ends (unleſſe it ſhould be thought fit to ſecure the Parliament by keeping the whole body of the Army, or ſo great a part thereof, to remain continually in and about *London*, as might be ſure to over-power any future tumults or force that may ariſe out of the City and eaſe of the parts adjacent, nor the ſafety of the Kingdome in reſpect of the preſent poſture of affaires will admit)

It is abſolutely neceſſary that there be ſpeedy and exemplary juſtice done upon (at leaſt) the cheif authors or abettors of the ſaid treaſonable engagement, and of the ſaid force done to the Parliament, and upon the chief actors, in maintenance and proſecution thereof (whereby men may be deterred from the like in future.

And this is alſo as neceſſary to the ſecurity of the Army, and peace of the Kingdome, ſince it is apparent by all that hath been ſaid, and by infinite other evidences (too many to recount.) That both the ſaid ingagement, and the force done to the Parliament, and the power of the City *militia* thereby gained, and the ſucceeding votes and orders of the pretended Houſes (but indeed of that faction that are our profeſſed enemies) in maintenance and proſecution thereof, and the Forces thereupon levied, (put under the command of Major Gen. *Maſſey* and others our profeſſed adverſaries) were all deſigned and directed to the ruine and deſtruction of this Army, and the raiſing of a new war againſt us in this Kingdome ; And having had ſuch experience of their reſtleſſe malice and cruell intentions towards us (notwithſtanding our tenderneſſe and lenity towards them) and of their treacherous dealing (ſo ſoon as they thought they had the advantage) notwithſtanding all their ſemblances of compliance to a compoſure ; what reaſon is there to expect, but that if by our patience and delays they apprehend in future the like or other advantage, they will break out againe into the like or worſe attempts of violence and war, if all eſcape with impunity for theſe.

But, as to this point of ſecurity by exemplary juſtice in an ordinary way, we ſee our hopes almoſt fruſtrated, whilſt (though our deſires and

reſolutions to that purpoſe expreſt in our late Declaration of the grounds of our advance towards *London*, were then ſeconded with the declared approbation and concurrent reſolutions of the Speakers and Members of both Houſes that were driven away to the Army, and with their ingagement to live and die with us therein. And though in purſuance thereof the Right Honourable Houſe of Peers, have ſince their reſtitution begun and proceeded to declare null and void all that was done in the name of both Houſes, while they lay under the power of that tumultuous violence, and to give their more authentick approbation to our ſaid Declaration made in behalfe of the ſaid Speakers and Members while they were with the Army, and in behalfe of the honour and freedome of the Parliament, and to give their like approbation to the concurrent Declaration and Engagement of the ſaid Speakers and Members made to us while they were with us; yet the Houſe of Commons have not only concurred with the Lords in any of thoſe things, but rather ſeem to have caſt them aſide; and upon the Queſtion concerning thoſe very Votes of *July* 26. to which the Houſes were by the ſaid violence inforced, [whether they ſhould be declared null and void] it was carried in the Negative, that the Queſtion ſhould not be put in; by the conſequences whereof (which are many wayes very ſad to this poor Kingdome, and more then we can recount) and by all ſubſequent proceedings in that Houſe in relation to the whole buſineſſe, we clearly find that the Members of that Houſe, who (after the violence done to it, and during the abſence of the Speaker and the other Members thereby driven away) proceeding in the name of that Houſe as aforeſaid, procured the pretended powers, and did make the pretended Votes, Orders and Ordinances aforementioned, and (many of them) were chiefe actors thereupon for the levying of warre in proſecution and maintenance of the aforeſaid treaſonable Engagement and force done to the Parliament, and for the oppoſing, reſiſting and deſtroying of this the Parliaments Army in its advance to *London*, for the reſtitution of the Parliament to its honour and freedome, being conſcious of their owne guilt, and danger thereby; yet preſuming on their intereſt in the Houſe, and the patience and lenity of this Army, do continue to intrude themſelves to ſit and Vote there, and by their preſent intereſt in the Houſe, do uſe their utmoſt endeavours and very much prevaile to obſtruct and avoid the bringing of any to juſtice who have acted under their pretended authority, (knowing it to be their owne caſe and concernement in point of impunity, as well as conducency to their faction and intereſt) And for that cauſe they labour (as for life) to uphold the things paſt and done; and the authorities given by them and their faction (in their and the Appren-

Apprentices pretended Parliament,) yea even those very Votes and authorities wrested from the Parliament by that palpable force of *July* 26. to be good and valid till they be repealed (as if past in a free and legall Parliament.) In which point and all Questions touching upon it, we find they presume upon, and are strengthened by the concurrence of divers other Members, who having (perhaps with harmelesse intentions,) continued to sit with them during the speakers absence as aforesaid, (though they consented not to any of their mischievous Votes, Orders, or Treasonable proceedings aforementioned (may yet feare themselves, to be involved in the same case and danger by having sate with them; and thus by the concurrence of these two partyes in the House, (as to that point) and the interest which both these partyes have with others in the House (especially upon a matter of saving one another,) and by the partiall respects of some others in the House, for the saving of their friends out of the House, who have acted under the authority, and for the evill ends aforementioned, we find an absolute obstruction to the bringing to justice, or questioning of any who have acted in the late levying of warre against us, and against the Vindication of the Parliaments freedome, or in the said Treasonable ingagements, yea, or in abetment of the tumultuous violence upon the Parliament it selfe, neither can we find or heare of any one person brought to justice or question for any of these things, but all seem to be either justifyed, or at least prorected from Iustice by the power and prevalence of those Members in Parliament, who are (many of them, as we can make appeare) equally guilty of, and (others) in some kind obnoxious for the same things; and thus not only our just expectations of Vindication to the Parliament, and security to our selves and the Kingdome from the like treasonable and turbulent practises in future, (by Exemplar justice for what hath been so done) are frustrated, but even the safety and immunitie of the Speakers, and those faithfull Members of both Houses that were driven away by the violence aforesaid, and the immunitie of the Army in advancing to *London*, to bring them back and restore the Parliament to its honour and freedome; (which have been acknowledged, with publick Thankesgiving to God for it as aforesaid) is subjected and exposed to question (wherein theirs and ours and the Kingdoms enemies obtrude themselves to be the Iudges; (for if those pretended Votes, Orders and Ordinances, whereby warre was levied against them and us, were then good and valid (though they should now be repealed, yet) we, with the Speakers, and those Members aforesaid, in opposing of them while they were of force, must needs remaine transgressors still, and yet God and we are thanked for it. [what a Mock is this to God and man?]

man?] but to returne to the more ſerious conſideration of our caſe, in relation to the ſecuritie of the Parliament, Kingdome and our ſelves, againſt the like turbulent and treaſonable practiſes in future, ſince by the means aforeſaid, no ſecuritie by exemplary juſtice can at preſent be had (to deterre any from the like) we wiſh all men to conſider what ſtraights we are in this caſe put upon.

That which is the maine worke of the Kingdome, and which we moſt earneſtly thirſt for and attend upon: (*viz.* the ſetling of a peace and conſideration of our Propoſals in Order thereunto,) will aske time to bring it to an iſſue, and that done, the relieving or remedying of the preſſing grievances of the Kingdome, will take up and require the ſitting of the Parliament for ſome further time, though upon the ſetling of a peace, a period be ſet for the certaine ending of it.) Now for the body of this Army, or ſo great apart of it (as may ſerve to over-power any future tumults or force that may ariſe in or from the City to continue hereabouts ſo long, the condition of the Countrey hereabouts, and the neceſſities of the City (in point of proviſion) cannot well beare it, and (we doubt) Forraign forces (that are already upon the wing) and turbulent Spirits that in ſeverall parts of the Kingdome are beginning inſurrections (if we continue fixed here) will have ſuch opportunity and take ſuch encouragement there-from, as that they may ere long neceſſarily call us off; ſhould we now or hereafter (while the Parliament ſits) draw off the Army from about the City (without exemplary juſtice upon ſome; would not the ſame or more dangerous tumults and violences probably returne upon the Parliament, and the like or worſe practices of raiſing a new war be revived (with more advantage to our enemies, more danger to us and the Kingdome, and leſſe hopes of appeaſing it ſo eaſily and happily as the former) while the ſame violent and factious ſpirits both in the Parliament and elſewhere ſhall continue in the ſame power and opportunities as formerly, and both they and all others ſhall have before their eyes the encouragement of that impunity and protection (yea rather that Juſtification,) which they have hitherto found from within the Parliament it ſelfe in the paſt practiſes aforementioned, though as groſſely treaſonable as any they can hereafter run into? ſhould we or any others (for the obtaining of exemplary juſtice upon ſome) proceed to impeach any for their paſt treaſonable practices, what hopes of juſtice or of a timely diſpatch therein can we have; while ſuch a prevailing party of men, intereſſed and concerned in the ſame things, ſhall in the Houſe of Commons continue to be judges thereof, or at leaſt be ready to avow and juſtifie the offendors therein, as having acted, under their pretended authority? In this

this ſtraight therefore (though we ever have been and ſhall be moſt tender of all juſt priviledges of Parliament, yet) finding the root of theſe and other difficulties to the Parliament, Kingdom, & our ſelves to lie in this, *viz.* That thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, who (during the forced abſence of the Speakers of both Houſes) continuing to ſit and act as a Parliament, did procure and conſent to the pretended Votes, Orders and Ordinances afore-mentioned for levying of war, and that (as is before demonſtrated) in direct proſecution or maintenance of the fore-ſaid treaſonable Engagement, and the violence done to the Parliament, and for the oppoſing, reſiſting, and deſtroying of this the Parliaments Army in its advance towards London, (to returne the Speakers and Members of both Houſes which were driven away, and the Houſes themſelves to their honour and freedome) and who are thereby, and by their late owning and avowing of the ſame, and many of them (as we can prove) by acting perſonally in the ſaid treaſonable practiſes, become parties to the ſame, doe yet take the boldneſſe to ſit and Vote in Parliament, eſpecially in the Houſe of Commons. Wee ſay, finding the main roote of our difficulties and dangers to lye in this.

Firſt, we appeale to all men, whether it be juſt or tolerable, that any priviledge of Parliament ſhould (contrary to the Law of nature) make a man judge in his owne caſe and concernment; and wee wiſh thoſe Members themſelves to conſider if we had come to engagement with the Forces raiſed by vertue of their pretended Votes and Ordinances, and that thouſands had been ſlaine, and we had made our way by the ſword) whether they would then have expected to have ſate as Judges upon us therein? and we are ſure it is no thanks to them that it hath beene otherwiſe, and had wee found thoſe Members in Armes againſt us, and ſubdued and taken them, whether had they not beene in the condition of priſoners of Warre? and if ſo) then having put Armes into the hands of others againſt us, and ſtill maintaining it, whether can they in ſtrict juſtice challenge any better condition from us? but that (contrariwiſe) we ſhould ſuffer either that thoſe whom by the courſe of Warre, (which they had choſe to engage in againſt us) wee might juſtly make our priſoners; ſhould in a courſe of Law become our Maſters and Commanders, or that thoſe who the other day did in an hoſtile manner endeavour to have beene our Executioners, ſhould (now we have by force broke their preparations againſt us) become our Judges (we ſuppoſe no reaſonable man, nor themſelves, (when they well conſider it) can expect from us.

Upon all theſe Conſiderations of the juſtneſſe of the Cauſe, and the neceſſity of the thing, for the ſafety of the Parliament, Kingdome and this

Army; (having no other way left timely to remedy the difficulties we are put upon, or prevent the growing dangers of future violence unto the Parliament, and disturbances to the Kingdome, or to secure the Parliament in a quiet proceeding to settle the peace of the Kingdome; And (in such case the safety of the people being the Supream Law) we doe protest and declare, That if any of those Members, who during the absence of the Speakers, and the rest of the Members of both Houses (forced away by the tumultuous violence aforesaid) did sit and Vote in the pretended Houses then continuing at *VVestminster*, shall hereafter intrude themselves to sit in Parliament (before they shall have given satisfaction to the respective Houses, wherefore they are concerning the grounds of their said sitting at *Westminster*, during the absence of the said Speakers, & shal have acquitted themselves by sufficient evidence, That they did not procure or give their consent unto any of those pretended Votes, Orders, or Ordinances tending to the raising and levying of a war (as is before declared) or for the Kings comming forth-with to *London*) we cannot any longer suffer the same, but shall doe that right to the Speakers and Members of both Houses who were driven away to us, and to our selves with them, (all whom the said other Members have endeavoured in an hostile manner, most unjustly to destroy) and also to the Kingdome which they endeavoured to embroyle in a new War,) as to take some speedy and effectuall course whereby to restrain them from being their owne, ours, and the Kingdomes Judges in those things wherein they have made themselves parties, by this meanes to make way that both they and others that are guilty of, and parties to the afore-said treasonable and destructive practises and proceedings against the freedome of Parliament and peace of the Kingdome may be brought to condigne punishment (and that at the judgment of a free Parliament, consisting (duely and properly) of such Members of both Houses respectively, who stand cleare from such apparant and treasonable breach of their trust as is before expressed.

At the head-quarters at Kingston *upon Thames*, Aug. 18. 1647.

By the appointment of his Excellency and the Generall Councell of his Army, Signed
John Rushworth, Secr.

A

A Declaration from his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* concerning the Exciſe.

WHereas it hath pleaſed the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, in and by their Declaration of the 28. of *Auguſt* laſt concerning the Exciſe, to appoint me to order and enjoyne all Colonels, Captaines, Officers and Souldiers under my command, upon application made to them or any of them, ſpeedily to ſuppreſſe all tumults, ryots, and unlawfull aſſemblies which ſhall be attempted or acted in oppoſition againſt the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, their Sub-commiſſioners, Collectors or Officers in execution of the Ordinances of Parliament for the Exciſe, and to apprehend all ſuch ryoters and tumultuous perſons, that they may be proceeded againſt according to law. In purſuance whereof, I doe hereby require all Colonels, Captaines, Officers and Souldiers under my command, upon application from time to time of the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Exciſe, their ſub-commiſſioners, collectors or officers unto them or any of them, to be ayding and aſſiſting as well in preventing of ſuch tumults and ryots, as in the ſuppreſſing thereof. Given under my hand and ſeale the fourth day of *Septemb.* 1647.

Tho: Fairfax.

A Letter from Hampton-Court containing the ſubſtance of His Majeſties moſt Gracious Anſwer to the *Propoſitions, preſented to him from both Kingdomes.*

Right Honourable,

THe Commiſſioners of both Kingdomes came hither on Tueſday night laſt, *September* 7. inſtant, & delivered a Letter to the reſt of the Commiſſioners whom they found here with His Majeſty from both Houſes of Parliament, that the ſaid Propoſitions ſhould be preſented to the King that night, and that the *Scots* Commiſſioners would be there to joyn with them to preſent them to his Majeſty.

They alſo ſhewed the inſtructions from the Houſes to their fellow-Com-

 miſſioners,

miſſioners, which were to preſent them that night, and to certifie His Majeſty that they were to expect a poſitive Anſwer thereunto within ſix days The *Scots* Commiſſioners were alſo here ready to joyne with ours in preſenting them to His Majeſty.

About five of the clock that night they all came to the King. The Prince Elector had been there, but was returned to *Richmond*, His Majeſties children were alſo there, who had dined with His Majeſty that day, and the Counteſſe of *Northumberland* with them, and they were then with his Majeſty, being not at that time returned to *Sion Houſe*. And Mr. *Maxvill* was then come to the Court, who is Chamberlain to his Majeſty.

The Commiſſioners acquainted his Majeſty with their Meſſage from both Kingdomes, and deſired audience, which his Majeſty granted, and preſently met them in one of the chambers where His Majeſty was with his Children: and there the Propoſitions were preſented and read; and his Majeſty told them that hee would give them an Anſwer, as ſoone as he could.

Then the King with-drew for ſome time, ſo that His Majeſty went late to Supper that night. The Commiſſioners wrote letters to the Houſes to acquaint them what was done, and what his Majeſty ſaid, and deſired that they might all returne to the Parliament when his Majeſty gave them a diſpatch.

Wedneſday, *Septemb.* 8. inſtant, the King was up early in the morning, being very deſirous to diſpatch the Commiſſioners with all poſſible ſpeed, his Majeſty walked forth a little before Dinner, and ſo a little againe in the after-noone to refreſh himſelfe; Divers came from *London*, and elſewhere, and ſome obtained leave to kiſſe his Majeſties hand.

Thurſday, *Sept.* 9. His Majeſty called for the Commiſſioners, and gave an Anſwer to them, which is to this effect:

That His Majeſty takes notice of theſe Propoſitions to be very little differing from the former preſented to him at *Newcaſtle*, to which his Majeſty returned Anſwer when he came to *Holdenby*, That his Majeſty conceives they cannot but take notice of the Propoſalls of the Army, which all rationall men cannot but confeſſe are much more reaſonable, and tending to a firme and ſetled Peace. And therefore his Majeſty deſires that Commiſſioners from the Parliament, and Commiſſioners from the Army may be ſent to His Majeſty to treat with him upon the Propoſalls from the Army, that a firm Peace may be ſetled.

This Thurſday the 9. inſtant, the Earl of *Pembrooke* and Major Generall *Browne*, returned with his Majeſties Anſwer betimes in the morning, for it was too late before they could return over night, by reaſon of ſome things which

which were to be done by the Commiſſioners that night. The Letter is directed to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, *pro tempore*, to be communicated to both Houſes of Parliament, (the like to the *Scots* Commiſſioners) His Majeſty is very confident that his Anſwer will give much ſatisfaction, and His Majeſty doth exceedingly approve of the proceedings of the Army.

Dated at Hampton Court,
Sept. 9. 1647.

Twelve Propoſalls from His Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Councell of his Armie, which His Majeſty ſeemes better to approve of, then any thing which hath hitherto been preſented to Him.

1. AN Act to be paſſed to take away all coerſive power, authority and juriſdiction of Biſhops, and all other Eccleſiaſticall Officers whatſoever, extending to any civill penalties upon any; and to repeal all Laws, whereby the civill Magiſtracy hath been, or is bound, upon any Eccleſiaſticall cenſure to proceed (*ex officio*) unto any civill penalties againſt any perſons ſo cenſured.

2. That there be a repeale of all Acts; or Clauſes in any Act, enjoyning the uſe of the Book of Common-prayer, and impoſing any penalties for neglect thereof, as alſo of all Acts or Clauſes in any Act, impoſing any penalties for not comming to Church, or for meetings elſe-where, for prayer or other religious duties, exerciſes or Ordinances, and ſome other proviſion to be made for diſcovering of Papiſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, and for diſabling of them, and all Jeſuites or Prieſts, from diſturbing the State.

3. That the taking of the Covenant be not enforced upon any, nor any penalties impoſed upon the Refuſers, whereby men might be conſtrained to take it againſt their judgments, or conſciences, but all Orders or Ordinances tending to that purpoſe to be repealed.

4. That (the things here before propoſed, being provided for ſetling and ſecuring the Rights, Liberties, Peace and ſafety of the Kingdome) His Majeſties perſon, his Queen, and Royall Iſſue, may be reſtored to a condition of ſafety, Honour and freedome in this Nation, without diminution to their perſonall Rights, or further limitation to the exerciſe of the

Regall

Regall power then according to the particulars afore-going.

5. That a leſſe number out of the perſons excepted in the two firſt qualifications (not exceeding five for the *Engliſh*) being nominated particularly by the Parliament, who (together with the perſons in the *Iriſh* Rebellion, in the third qualification) may be reſerved to the further judgement of the Parliament, as they ſhall finde cauſe. All other excepted perſons may be remitted from the exception, and admitted to compoſition.

6. That the rates for all future compoſitiou may be leſſened and limited not to exceed the ſeverall proportions hereafter expreſt reſpectively: That is to ſay. 1. For al perſons formerly excepted, not above a third part. 2. For the late Members of Parliament, under the firſt branch of the fourth qualification in the Propoſitions, a fourth part. 3. For other Members of Parliament, in the ſecond and third branches of the ſame qualification, a ſixth part. 4. For the perſons nominated in the ſaid fourth qualification, and thoſe included in the tenth qualification, an eighth part. 5. For all other included in the ſixth qualification, a tenth part. And that reall Debts either upon Record, or proved by witneſſes, be conſidered and abated in the valuation of their eſtates in all the caſes aforeſaid.

7. That thoſe who ſhall hereafter come to compound, may not have the Covenant put upon them, as a condition without which they may not compound: but in caſe they ſhall not willingly take it, they may paſs their compoſitions without it.

8. That the perſons and Eſtates of all *Engliſh*, not worth two hundred pounds in Lands or goods, be at liberty and diſcharged: And that the Kings meniall Servants, that never took up Armes, but only attended His Perſon, according to their Offices, may be freed from Compoſitions, or to pay (at moſt) but the proportion of one years Revenue, or a twentieth part.

9. That in Order to the making and perfecting of Compoſitions at the rates aforeſaid, the Rents, Revenues, and other dues, and profits of all ſequeſtred Eſtates whatſoever, (except the Eſtates of ſuch perſons, who ſhall bee continued under exception as before) bee from henceforth ſuſpended and detained in the hands of the reſpective Tenants, Occupants, and others, from whom they are due, for the ſpace of ſixe moneths following.

10. That the faith of the Army, or other forces of the Parliament given in Articles upon ſurenders to any of the Kings party, may be fully made good, and where any breach thereof ſhall appeare to have been made, full reparation and ſatisfaction may be given to the parties injured, and the prſons offending being found out, may be comp elled thereto.

11. That

11. That there may be a generall act of oblivion to extend unto all (except the persons to be continued in exception as before) to absolve from all Trespasses, Misdemeanors, &c. done in prosecution of the War, and from all trouble or prejudice for or concerning the same, and to restore them to all priviledges, &c. belonging to other Subjects, provided, as in the fourth particular under the second generall head afore-going concerning security.

12. And whereas there have been of late strong endeavours & practices a factious and desperate party, to imbroyl this Kingdome in a new War, and for that purpose to induce the King, the Queene, and Prince, to declare for the said party, and also to excite and stirre up all those of the Kings late party to appeare and ingage for the same, which attempts and designes many of the Kings party (out of a desire to avoid further misery to the Kingdome) have contributed their endeavours to prevent, (as for divers of them we have had particular assurance) we doe therefore desire, that such of the Kings party who shall appear to have expressed, and shall hereafter expresse shat way their good affections to the peace and wel-fare of the Kingdom, and to hinder the embroyling of the same in a new War, may be freed and exempted from compositions, or to pay but one yeares Revenue, or a twentieth part.

The humble Proposals of the Adjutators in the Army. Presented to his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, concerning divers that suffer in matters concerning the King.

May it please your Excellency,

HAving received information from some persons of good affections, and fidelity to the Armie, and Kingdome, that severall persons are now under unmercifull sufferings, by confiscating their goods, and imprisonment of their Persons, for words spoken against the King (acting in His Tyrannicall practices in the late War, they having been Souldiers.)

We being made sensible of their misery, not knowing how soon it may be our own condition, there as yet being no provision for their or our own indempnity.

For want of which our Enemies have so great advantage of all the wel-affected in the Kingdome, That if not timely remedied, they will recover more upon our words, then we of them by our swords.

We are ingaged to supplicate your Excellency in the behalf of these Prisoners

soners named in this inclosed paper, that you would be pleased to use some means for the restoring them to their freedome, and to deliver them from their Tyrannicall sufferings, according as your Excellency shall finde agreeable to Justice and reason.

Presented to His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax *sighned by these Adjutators.*

John Reynolds	*George Stenson*	*Edward Vaughan*
Francis White	*Richard Grant*	*William Pryar.*
Edward Chillendon	*Thomas Rawlings*	*Thomas Shepheard*
Tobias Birdge	*William Young*	*Timothy Thornbury*
Richard Nixon	*John Taylor*	*John Willoughby*
Nicholas Andrews	*Robert Stedman*	*William Jones*
John Wilson	*John Wells*	*Edward Twigge*
Nat. Vnderwood	*John Dober*	*Henry Gethings.*

A Declaration from his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the Councell of his Army, held at *Putney*, Sept. 9. 1647. *Concerning the fundamentall Authority and Government of the Kingdome.*

WHereas a Member of the Generall Councell of this Army hath publikely declared, and expressed himselfe, *That there is now no visible Authority in the Kingdome, but the power and force of the sword.*

We therefore the said Generall Councell (to testifie how far our hearts and minds are from any design of setting up the power of the sword, above, or against the fundamentall authority and government of the Kingdome: And our readinesse to maintaine and uphold the said authority.) Have by a free Vote (in the said Councell, no man contradicting) judged the said Member, *To be expelled the said Councell.*

Which we hereby thought fit to publish as a cleare manifestation of our dislike; and disavowing such principles or purposes.

Putney, Septemb. 9. 1647.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, *and the Generall Councell of his Army,*

Signed, *John Rushworth*, Secretary.